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DE[illegible] SOUTHERN SLAVER

[illegible]NST THE ATTACKS

OF

HEN[illegible] CLAY AND ALEX'R. CAMPBELL.

[illegible]H OF THE FALSE PHILANTHROPY AND MAWKISH SENTIMEN[illegible]HE ABOLITIONISTS IS MET AND REFUTED. IN WHICH [illegible]VER SHOWN THAT THE ASSOCIATION OF THE WHITE [illegible]K RACES IN THE RELATION OF MASTER AND SLAVE [illegible] APPOINTED ORDER OF GOD, AS SET FORTH IN [illegible] BIBLE, AND CONSTITUTES THE BEST SOCIAL [illegible]DITION OF BOTH RACES, AND THE ONLY [illegible] TRUE PRINCIPLE OF REPUBLICANISM.

[illegible]Y A SOUTHERN CLERGYMAN.

HAMBURG, S. C.

[illegible]INTED BY ROBINSON AND CARLISLE.

1851.

E449
.S875

EADER.

This Pamphlet contain
d strictures on Mr. Cam Clay's "Letter on Emancipation"
emies of the South threw th the p ple of Kentucky" These
o canvass in Kentucky, for productions before the country during
heir professed object was t alter the Constitution of that State.
thor answered them becau ition of slavery in Kentucky. The
the people of Kentucky, a that while each pretended to write
general attack upo s slavery to slavery in that State, both made
exis the Institutio y every where, but more especially,
swe thern States of this confederacy. He now presents these
Ruei in pamphlet form, because he desires to cast the mite of his
act w e of Southern Rights at this crisis, and hopes this humble
their ners to form correct views of their rights, and of the rectitude
aci ppointed of God and sustained by the Bible. The letter on
Rui my hands in the spring of 1849, and the Review was written
Augusta Constitutionalist, in May, and was copied and cir-
as during their Convention canvass. The Millennial Harbinger
the Mr. Campbell's Tract for the people of Kentucky, was
unmiddle of June, by a friend, who had read the Review of
n co to answer Mr. Campbell; accordingly, in the midst of
led these strictures were written, and a rough draft mailed
ica y, which either miscarried or did not arrive in time for
to their Convention election, and they failed to be published.
ad to some half dozen persons, all of whom have expressed
d, as containing a useful defence of the Institution of slavery
atio . The style may be condemed by some as being rather
itter may be blamed for impugning the motives, especially of
ree since pursued by him in the American Congress must,
very Southerner that Mr Clay's object is to reach the Presidency
ndation of the whole South, the stepping stone to his elevation,
ered his services to the abolitionists, to lead in planning and car-
asures of public plundering and robbery, which have under the de-
compromise given to the North, the whole of the public Territory
a into a predicament, where she must either leave the Union or be
within this year, having the same object (the white house) in view,
gress to carry, by the abolition majority, the measure of establishing
ers between the United States and Africa, ostensibly to enable the
rnment of this country, to purchase an d nd to Africa, the slaves o
be purchased, however, by taxing the owners to pay themselves):
actical result of which line would be to afford the abolitionists facility
our slaves and ridding themselves of them by shipping them to Africa,
nce. We think the cloven foot of the traitor to the South, has been so
stuck out in the whole of Mr. Clay's course, as to be discerned and re-

probated by all the friends of the [illegible] re not disposed [illegible]
extenuate, any of the seeming s[illegible] e Review of hi[illegible]
document two years ago. If any [illegible] that Review [illegible]
news-paper form, may not appre[illegible] and be dispose[illegible]
pamphlet aside, without perusal, [illegible] to read the st[illegible]
Campbell's Tract, which have n[illegible] until now, an[illegible]
thousands have never seen the [illegible] consented to th[illegible]
to Clay and Campbell before the [illegible] in one pamphle[illegible]
productions form a combined [illegible] the Institution [illegible]
Cam bell following in the wake [illegible] ng to clinch the [illegible]
had driven: And further, because [illegible] refuting the so[illegible]
men, much of the false philanthr[illegible] sentimentalism [illegible]
everywhere is undermined and t[illegible] It is mainly fo[illegible]
that we felt it a duty both to wr[illegible] wers. On [illegible]
over with the cool reflection of tw[illegible] perceiv[illegible] style [illegible]
tation of the truth might be so amended as to attach to [illegible] let [illegible]
of character, and probably give it more influence for goo[illegible] rewri[illegible]
too laborious, and to trouble printers with extensive alte[illegible] plea[illegible]
neither of which has the writer spare time. Perhaps to [illegible] very [illegible]
exempt the pamphlet and its author from criticism, affordi[illegible] use [illegible]
may wince under the inflictions of the truth, not to "lic[illegible]
the overthrow of these positions.

In conclusion we take the liberty of suggesting to Mess[illegible]
and the whole clan of the abolitionists, that it is a se[illegible]
sighted worms of the human race, to set themselves up[illegible]
censors of God's Institutions, and judges to decide against [illegible]
ments. Such must expect rough handling by the friends [illegible]
is yet more fearful, they cannot escape the judgment of [illegible]
must be the reckoning of such as admit the Institution of sl[illegible]
"the law and gospel of God" and then professing to take [illegible]
man of their counsel, join with the unhallowed hosts of [illegible]
oppos[illegible] by "the spirit of the age"?- But we forbear fur[illegible]

1851. A SOUTHE[illegible]

In regard to the scriptural view of slavery, under the Gospel tion, we ask Mr. Clay, or any o. his Northern associates, to poi single passage, or word, uttered by Jesus Christ, or his Apostle tory of slavery, or even passing the first intimation of censure a institution. Were not the Christian Churches founded by Chri Apostles, well organized societies? would Mr. Clay, or any othe avowed infidel dispute that fact? and yet in these churches we upon whom, toward their owners, the strongest injunctions to s obedience and faithfulness were every where most positively the inspired writers of the New Testament; and the strongest reprobation used against such as should attempt to teach sentim versive of the institution of slavery and tending to corrupt slav Tim. vi. 1-5: see the epistle to Philemon, in which Paul p taught the incompatibility of a slave's escaping the service of h with the divine forgiveness and christian profession of such slave. Under these instructions, Onesimus felt himself bou Christian convert, to return to the service of his master. But this point, if the omniscient Saviour and his inspired Apostles w instituted regulations for the perpetual continuance of slavery th not recognised the institution to be a blessing to well organize and that its tendency was to preserve liberty, rational and ju church and State? We would ask Mr. Clay, too to point us to men of civil government based upon principles of republican free pure and elev[illegible] that exhibited in the New Testament chu yet, with[illegible] point, or divine appointment and regulation, slavery lubly a[illegible] inseparably interlinked. For without the existence there would be an utter inapplicability both of the terms master and of the rules, given in the scriptures, for the regulation of th duties of the two classes, in any social state from which the of slavery is excluded; and furthermore there would be, in su a strange incomprehensibility in the Saviour's illustrations, a tropes and figures of all the sacred writers, in allusion to the of slavery. We say, therefore, slavery is inseparably connected w Church government, because, on Bible authority, slavery of some necessarily exists in every well organized society. And we t modern fanaticism, in its attempt to pervert God's instituti very, and especially negro slavery, must bring upon the fana selves, (and upon the poor negroes likewise collaterally,) the curse of heaven for presuming to charge God with wrong, and fo mously attempting the change of his appointments in direct co to his authority, as published in the Bible, containing his revea man. Let Mr. Clay read the ninth chapter of Genesis, and sa the curse inflicted upon Canaan and his posterity, and the annexed of their servitude, in the form too of slavery (for the terms i dage,) do not indicate the Canaanitish or African race, as doom the appointment of God, to perpetual servitude. That curse flat skull, and other physical changes, which stamp upon them of intellect, and their whole history has, thus far, shown them of self government, and to be constitutionally fitted to enjoy religious freedom, in its highest blessing to them, only in a state or absolute servitude, under the other races of Noah. Look at t of the negro every where, when left to himself. In their na their state is savage idolatry, in which, previous to the ac God's institution of slavery among them, their tribes were

relentless warfare, delighting in the most cruel butchery of cap-
ves. And even a few weeks since, I believe within this year, six hunderd
or captives were put to death by a petty tyrant of Africa, because of his
appointment in selling them upon the coast for foreign transportation!
Will Mr Clay pretend to say that their purchase and shipment to a Chris-
an land, to exist in perpetual bondage under the Caucassian race, would
t have been, in every sense, to them, a most merciful deliverance? And
es the condition of the race, enlightened and Christianized through sla-
ry among the whites, receive benefit or improvement from emancipation?
he degraded state and squalid condition of the poor negroes in the so
lled free States, show them to be greatly injured, civilly and morally, by
ing thrown upon their own resources among the whites: and hence
e wisdom and prudence of the free negro whom Mr Noah of New York
presented, a few weeks ago, as desiring to sell himself into slavery, val-
ng his freedom at the moderate price of $150. And how is the condition
the emancipated slaves bettered in the British Islands? or, rather, to
at extent has English fanaticism injured those poor negroes, by taking
m from under the protection and guardianship of kind owners, and tur-
g them loose, to languish in idleness and vermine and crime?* There
s but two instances exemplifying the condition of emancipated
lican slaves who are making the experiment of self-government. The
is the gloomy and blood stained Island of St. Domingo, the history of
ich, thus far, we think, shows that the curse of Almighty God against
rder and rapine, added to the original curse of Canaan cleaving to them,
ll ever forbid its inhabitants to prosper, politically or religiously. The
her is the colonies of emancipated slaves who are innocent of any guilt
to the means of their freedom; some having, in the only true plan of
ancipation, been freed by payment of a ransom to their owners; and
hers having received their freedom through the fanaticism of legisla-
es or individuals whose, owners, in either case, have been volun-
ily shorn or involuntarily rifled of property in their slaves, without
y evil agency on the part of said slaves: None other, therefore, than
original curse of Canaan can be alleged as prohibiting the prosperity
the African colonies of free colored emancipated slaves. Although I have
r favored the colonizing of the free blacks, in Africa, as likely to be
means of introducing the principles of Christianity and civilization
ong the natives of that benighted country; yet I have ever doubted
hether the race would there even equal the condition of southern slavery
to the means of protection, religion and happiness. This opinion has
en strengthened by reading the "Journal of an African Cruiser" written
y a Northern man, and, of course, anti slavery, and predisposed to speak
favor of, rather than against the colonization enterprise. That your
aders may judge for themselves, I give several quotations. He says,
peaking of the women, "A little chance washing and sewing, not enough
employ one in ten, is all they have to depend upon. The consequence
, that every person of even moderate means of living has two or three
omen to feed and clothe.—They do not need their services but cannot
t them starve. This is one of the draw-backs upon colonization. Even
he able bodied men are, generally, unfit for promoting the prosperity of
he colony. A very large proportion of them are slaves, just liberated.
ccustomed to be ruled and taken care of by others, they are no better
han mere children, as respects the conduct and economy of life. In A-
erica, their food, clothes, medicines, and all other necessaries have been
rnished without a thought on their part; and when sent to Liberia with
igh notions of freedom and exemption from labor (ideas which with many
re synonimous) they prove totally inadequate to sustain themselves. * *

*See note A.

* * The thievish propensity of many of the poor and indolent colonl is much complained of by the industrious: on this account, more than a other, it is difficult to raise stock." African Cruiser, chap. v., p. Such was witnessed, several years ago, of Mr. Clay's colony of emanci ted negroes in their best known condition of freedom. The descriptior so characteristic of Negro temperament, disposition and genius, as resulti from the curse upon Canaan and his posterity; and so congenial to prophetic decree, fitting the race for slavery, that I can but apprehe that these items of discouragement to the friends of colonization, are l the beginning of their sorrows; that they will find in the end that Go appointments cannot be frustrated by human inventions; and that c trary to expectation, even the better class of the colonists will make l little advance, while the less moral and the improvident will descend to t condition of the natives, rather than elevate the latter. The author abc quoted, says, "Rude and wretched as is the condition of the natives, it l been affirmed that many of the Liberian colonists have mingled with th and preferred their savage mode of life to the habits of civilization. O one instance of the kind has come to my personal knowledge." Afric Cruiser, c. vii. p. 59. As there are twenty nine verses in Mr. Clay's olition chapter, and I have not yet got through the second verse, it may some relief to your type-men, as well as your readers, to know that i not my purpose to act the regular commentator, or even touch upon eve verse.

This I should not have time to do, not even if I expected that my rep (as Mr. Clay did of his letter, from the orderly arrangement of it into ch ter and verses) would be stereotyped, and bandied over New and Old E gland. I must then be excused for dwelling a little longer upon the gl ing sophisms of the second verse. Mr. Clay thinks further, that "If s very be fraught with these alleged benefits, the principle on which i maintained would require that one portion of the white race should be duced to bondage to serve another portion of the same race, where bl subjects of slavery could not be obtained; and that in Africa where th may entertain as great a preference for their color as we do for ours th would be justified in reducing the whites to slavery in order to secure blessings which that state is said to diffuse."

Are we here to understand Mr. Clay to be playing into the hands of olitionism, by insinuating that the institution of slavery justifies the viol seizure of men, whether white or black entitled to freedom, and thu force subjects them to a state of bondage? Does he place the rise of th stitution of African slavery among us upon such footing? If so, we call r him to give the proof, till which is done, he must excuse us for consid this absurd sophism a disingenuous thrust at the sacred rights of the S and an unhallowed misrepresentation of God's institution. The wh his 3d and 4th verses are made up of the same sort of sophistical misr sentation, suited well to please Northern fanatics, and stren then their h in their mad disregard of the Bible and the American Constitution—in threatened onslaught upon Southern rights and institutions

As Mr. Clay has perhaps neglected to examine the Bible plan of s ry, through his many engagements in electioneering for the Presid and in the duties of the high offices of State which he has held, h pardon us for showing him God's method of making slaves. If he wil to chapter xlvii. of Genesis, he will see how a very large number of s was made without any violence whatever to their persons or their The Egyptians through their improvidence and lack of foresight to care of the copious products of the seven years of plenty, as did Joseph,

ced by want to pay out, first, all their cash for corn, and then to sell their nds and themselves into servitude to Pharaoh; and they felt the spirit of e gratitude for having their lives preserved on the terms of becoming ves.—This then illustrates Gods benevolent institution of slavery. It is tended to take under its protection and safe keeping the improvident and ckless who may have forfeited their title to liberty through poverty, ime or the disasters of war. (See Leviticus xxv. 39 & 47; Exodus xxi. 1-7; shua, ix. 23-27.) The curse inflicted on Canaan, (Gen. ix. 24. 28.) for the ime of his father was an exercise of divine mercy toward the father in aring him and punishing the son; and the punishment was dispensed mercy to the son, in preserving him and his posterity alive, with diminned intellect, instead of cutting them off; and it is doubtless under such minution of intellectuality that the negro race in their native state, have er shown themselves so improvident and incapacitated as to forbid their se from a condition of savage barbarity, under their own management. he Bible, however, by no means justifies their forcible enslavement by any lightened or more powerful nation, nor do we recollect any particle of hisry showing such to be the manner in which our negroes were enslaved, Mr. Clay would be understood to insinuate in several parts of his chapon emancipation. He speaks in the 5th and 25th verses of the piteous rongs" done to "Africa" and "her children," through the institution of very. Whether this sophism is designed as a blistering unguent to be plied to the consciences of Southern slaveholders, to induce them to bmit to be rifled of their property without resistence, or to be an electionring salvo to enlist the morbid sympathies of Northern abolitionists, I shall t feel bound to decide. But I shall like to be informed more specifically what sense either the country or the inhabitants of Africa, or the neroes brought from there, have ever been wronged by God's merciful initution of slavery. Were the belligerent parties engaged in struggling warfare, wronged when this benign institution interposed to induce the onquerors to make slaves of their captives instead of butchering them in he most cruel manner? And were those captives thus mercifully spared s slaves, wronged on being transported from a state of savage slavery nder unfeeling tyrants in their native land of sickness ignorance and idoltry, to the protection and guardianship of kind christianized and civized masters, in a land of Bible light, of civil and gospel privileges, and f health and plenty? Has this divine institution of God's appointment, ene our Southern slaves wrong in placing them beneath the protecting o nner of the Constitution and laws of the most civilized portion of the world; and under the guardianship of owners, whose christian sympathy and personal interest combine to furnish them (parents and children) a comfortable home for life, and such supply of food, raiment and medical aid, as may be best calculated to secure health and prolong life! thus rendering their civil condition superior to that of any class of poor in any section of the known world? Has this heaven-born institution done our slaves wrong in providing them apartments in every house of worship throughout the Southern country, where they may sit with their owners under the proclamation of gospel grace; and through which thousands of them are enabled to rejoice in the glorious hope of a blessed immortality?

Have our slaves, then, in fine, been wronged in being raised, through the institution of slavery, to a condition of moral, intellectual and civil improvement, and to a state of protection, comfort and happiness never elsewhere, nor in any period of the world's history, known to any portion of the negro race? Wrongs done by the institution of slavery, indeed! Mr. Clay had better contemplate the wrongs which the spirit of fanaticism has done

the poor negroes of this country in abusing God's institution of slavery, attempting under morbid sensibility to confer freedom upon them, which doomed the great mass of emancipated slaves to wretchedness and wa He had better look at the cruelties which his plan meditates against subjects of emancipation. Supposing those born after 1860, and destine to be free at twenty-five, and to be sent to Africa at twenty eight, marr at the usual ages of their forming such connection—say the men at twen and women at sixteen years of age: then, at the expiration of eight year the husband must be torn from the wife, with from four to seven childre and thus leave his family to follow him, at long intervals, to the Afric colony. After four years more, the mother is to be severed from her childre and shipped to Africa, there, perhaps to weep over the grave of her hu band and to wait, if spared by the inhospitable climate, fourteen yea for the arrival of her eldest child, and fifteen or sixteen years, as the ca may be, for the second, and in that proportion for the rest! But, alas, in th meanwhile, what security for the safety of her bereaved children wou cheer her disconsolate reflections that, none having a personal interest them, they would most likely suffer for food, raiment and protection! M Clay says, such a state of separation "will be far less distressing than wha frequently occurs in the state of slavery," &c. &c. We are inclined to th opinion that involuntary separation of families among slaves seldom happe in their removal, or exchange of owners, as most people feel disposed to kee them together, where they desire it; and, in cases of separation, the pa ties are always assured that their friends or children will fall under th care of masters whose personal interest will not allow their property eve to want the necessaries to preserve health and life. Mr. Clay had bette consider the overthrow he is, perhaps unintentionally, devising against hi free negro paradise; for, I am much mistaken if his annual shipment o five thousand emancipated slaves from Kentucky, (should he succeed i blinding and deranging the people of that State so far as to induce th act of manumission,) would not be the inevitable destruction of the Africa colony. The foreseeing author, before quoted, gives the friends of colo nization a timely hint on this point. He says "I perceive in colonizatio reports that the owners of slaves frequently offer to liberate them, on con dition of their being sent to Li eria. * * * Better discriminate care fully in the selection of emigrants, than to send out such numbers of th least eligible class, to become burdens upon the industrious and intelligen who might otherwise enjoy comfort and independence. Many a colonist at this moment, sacrifices his interest to his humanity, and feels himsel kept back in life by the urgent claims of compassion." African Cruiser, ch. v. p. 34.

I had thought to pass to the 7th verse, containing Mr. Clay's emancipation proposition, and apply to it the Constitutional and Bible test of the right of slave property; but I must be excused for noticing yet a little further the sophistical attempt to cast sand in the eyes, and throw the chain of fanaticism around the consciences of his slaveholding brethren of Kentucky, and the South in general, before he would exhibit his bitter pill of abolitionism. Mr. Clay knew well that no man in his right senses would destroy his property, or relinquish his rights for nought. Hence the labored effort to produce utter blindness to the rectitude of the institution of slavery. It is not only ridiculed and sneered at, (the strongest arguments which abolitionism has usually produced,) but an appeal is made to public opinion, as certainly calculated to convince any sickened conscience that might still, through pecuniary interest, cleave to the detested institution of slavery. He says, "a vast majority of the

people of the United States, I believe, regret—lament—deplore"—&c. &c. &c., concerning the hatefulness and evils of slavery. If there indeed be so vast a majority against slavery, Mr. Clay may, I suppose, think his chance for holding a certain high office good, especially by this timely annunciation of his long entertained sentiments of abolitionism. But are majorities always right? If so what is the use of Constitutions to prevent the minority from being wronged? Mr. Clays assertion that the abolition faction of this country are so vastly in the ascendency, must surely strengthen their hands; and as the cheering message has, ere this, commenced its perigrinations in old England, the infamous Sturge* of corn monopoly memory, Thompson, and others of like calibre, will feel that their mission and labors amongst abolitionists of New England (for they dared not show their heads at the South) were not in vain; and Lord Brougham, and other friends of the celebrated Clarkson, will certainly think it needless to attempt their promised answer to Gov. Hammond's letters, which involves the task of gnawing at a file. But when Mr. Clay shall have answered the several interrogatories propounded to him in our comment on the 2nd verse of his chapter, he will have found God, and Christ, and all holy men of old, sanctioning slavery as the most sublime institution of mercy, next to that of Redemption, and intended by God, as exemplified in the Bible, to be incorporated with every well organized society. What then must be the fearful predicament of Mr. Clay and his abolition friends both of old and New England? Are they not all, whether few or many, fighhting against the God of heaven? Lifting their puny fists in opposition to Him who sits upon his lofty throne and laughs to scorn the impious attempts of his enemies to frustrate his designs or thwart his appointments? Leaving Mr. Clay and the friends of abolitionism to contemplate the fearful results of their unequal conflict, let the advocates of slavery humbly rejoice in finding the God of the Bible with them, and that truth is mighty and must prevail. But it is time to redeem our promise to apply the test of truth to Mr. Clay's plan of abolition. After filling the preamble and six verses of his chapter with matter suited to the taste of free-soilers, and secondarily intended to blunt the sensibilities of Southerners and blind them to the rectitude of their institutions, Mr. Clay comes out in the 7th verse, with the preliminaries of his long concocted scheme of abolition.

He lays down three prerequisites as being essential to the success of his plan. The first is that emancipation must be gradual. He was conscious that the people would see the barefaced robbery in the case, if their negroes were taken from them at once. The second is that the emancipated slaves must be transported to some foreign colony. He knew that it would increase the hardships of the people of Kentucky to be rifled of their property and then be molested forever with free negro depredations. The third pre-requisite is, that provision must be made for the payment, not to the owners for their property, but to some agent to meet the outfit of transportation, &c, and this he thinks must arise from the hire of the free negro; as he supposed that it would surely be considered unfair for the plundered master to meet such expense. All this reminds one of the devision of prey made by the white man between himself and his Indian companion, in their hunting expedition, where the indian complained that the other had not said turkey to him, but had assigned him the crow in every form of

*He and his brother just before his mission to this country, bought up all the corn in the section of England and made a fortune by extorting upon the starving poor of that country. See Thornton, pp. 217, 219.

his proposition. The Kentuckians, and the south in general, may truly complain that Mr. Clay's benevolent scheme has made no provision to pay them for their negroes. When the British fanatics emancipated the slaves of the West India Islands, they appropriated an amount, supposed to be a fair ransom price for each slave, and I believe provided an armed force for the protection of the whites among whom they turned loose the negroes. They were not quite so far gone in fanaticism as to have lost all sense of honesty and justice. But Mr. Clay in the true spirit of yankee abolitionism, proposes to plunder, by public authority, the owners, of their money vested in their slaves! and indeed, how else could emancipation be effected unless Mr. Clay could persuade (which would be hard to do) the Northern abolitionists to become impoverished by exemplifying the truth of their sympathy in purchasing southern slaves? For the raising, by taxation, from the property holders of Kentucky, 80 millions of dollars to pay themselves for their slaves, would involve an absurdity as indicative of madness, as their submission to emancipation without equivalent would be evincive of their blind fanaticism. But Mr. Clay would make the people believe that the gradual process in the operation of plundering, will make the small sacrifice on the part of the slaveholders, altogether easy to be borne.—But what is the difference in my being robbed by peace-meals with the knowledge that the whole is to be swept at the thief's convenience, or in his taking at the first pass, my all? The feelings must in the first case be subjected to the greater degree of suffering because doomed to the longer endurance of festering and rankling mortification. The ultimate question in this case is, will the people of Kentucky, or any of the States submit to be rifled of their property by law? We think not until the Constitution of the Union and the Bible be cast off or treated as dead letter. In the 9th section of the first article, and in the 2nd section of the fourth article, the constitution of the United States recognizes the vested rights of the owner, in slave property; which it guaranties against any legislation of the national legislature: and the second section of the first article forbids any State to pass a law impairing contracts, which must include destroying vested rights. What court, then, under the supervision of the american constitution, would not declare any law null, which should essay to divest me of my slave property without my consent? If the Slaveholders of any of the states under their manumission Acts have been divested of their slave property, it has been because they were gulled by fanaticism or ignorance to yield their rights to the robbery of unrighteous legislation. I am aware it is held that a State, in its sovereign capacity, by conventional authority, can act above its Constitution. We ask if such States be rendered lunatic through fanaticism, and declare God's constitution of things null, if the action must be considered right? But the slaveholder has his property in his slaves recognized and guarantied to him by a still higher power than the Constitutions of this country. The Bible,* God's constitutional guide for himself in the government of our race, and for the regulation of human responsibilities in regard to the relations of man with his fellow or his Maker, recognizes the slaveholder's personal and vested rights in his slave, which he has purchased with his money or received as an inheritance. And woe betide that robber or band of robbers, whether under the formality of law or not, who will wrest from me my slaves and risk the decissions of God's tribunal in that day when the world shall be judged in righteousness.

Mr. Editor: Having fulfilled my pledge to apply the promised test, I was about to desist and consign the foregoing to your disposal.— But my pen being of the precious metal, has a powerful attraction for truth, and an

*The Bible in its literal import and not according to Mr. Seward's interpretation.

equal principle of repulsion against error, and as Mr. Clay is a man of acknowledged influence in the nation it may be that my pen thinks his errors the more dangerous. Your typemen and readers must indulge its itching propensity to operate further upon Mr Clay's sophisms. He in his 13th verse, thinks that the rights of slaveholders should remain unmolested from the manumission act of the present year till the distant period fixed for the commencement of freedom, and that owners of slaves be allowed "to sell, devise or remove them from the State." This demagogue turn in the arrangement is intended to induce the slaveholders to join with the fanatics and free soilers to pass the act of emancipation, on the ground that they will have the privilege of running all the slaves over into our States, and pocketing the money for them, and thus remain unscathed as to their pecuniary interests. But let me say to the people of Kentucky, that we have learned a lesson of experience (the most costly sort of lessons) on that point from the practice of our Yankee friends; and I would warn the Kentuckians to be guarded against this delusive sophism—for just as soon as the State of Kentucky shows her hand against the South, we, in self defence, must immediately enact measures prohibitory of the imigration of Kentucky slaves among us, and if they will be wise in view of their own interests, let them unfurl in time their banner of opposition to Mr. Clay's predatory measure of abolitionism.

As a further appeal to the interest of the slave holders, he tells them of the evils already experienced, and of those which are to come, from their abolition neighbors. The people of Ohio have given them great trouble in causing the escape of slaves beyond the intervening river; and, from the increase of the spirit of abolitionism, they must expect the people of other States to do so too. That is, if a parcel of thieves take a part of my property, I must throw the balance away, to prevent them and others from getting it! A curious sophism truly. But do not Mr Clay's troubles indicate a bad state of morals resulting from abolitionism? What has become of the Constitution, which expressly provides for the recovering of fugitive or stollen slaves? Ah!—and what has become of the Bible, whose code of laws, which God inscribed with his own hand on tables of stone to show their permanent authority, says, "Thou shalt not steal? Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's house, thou shalt not covet thy neighbors wife, nor his man servant, nor his maid servant, nor his ox nor his ass, nor anything that is thy neighbor's." Does Mr. Clay suppose that, if these sacred precepts, which stand prominent in the code of God's morals, and which are to constitute the test of character upon which the fearful awards of the eternal judgment will be distributed, were correctly understood by the people of Ohio, that they would, in the face of such divine authority, interfere with the man servants and maid servants of their neighbors? Not they. Does Mr. Clay think that, if the ignorant slaves were correctly taught the sanctions of the Bible on the duties of man servants and maid servants, they would even suffer themselves to be stolen? The Bible teaches slaves that they have no more right to escape from the possession and service of the master, than they have to steal their value in money; and that to covet freedom, without the master's being paid his money invested in them, is a flagrant breach of the 8th and 10th commandments—and that God holds all fugitive slaves in the character of thieves and robbers who must rest beneath his curse in life, and be driven into endless torments under the decisions of the judgment of the great day, unless they obtain forgiveness from God, which they cannot do without their repentence and forsaking of sin, which includes their return to their master and restitution for his loss in their escape. See the Epistle of Paul to Philemon, describing the case

of Onesemus. See some of the leading scriptures in reference to servan —Gen. xvii. 12 13; Exodus xx. 10, 17. The incorporation of slavery in the covenant of circumcision and into the decalogue, shows the instit tion to be of paramount authority and perpetuity in the Jewish econom and the New Testa nent legislation for its continuance to the end of tir shows the nature of the divine sanction under which the submission and o dience of slaves is required in the gospel economy. See Eph. vi. 5 10 C iii. 22, 25. Let the 25th verse be impressed on the slave's conscience w the sanctions under which God's law was given from Sinai. (Exodus x and II Cor v. 10. 11.) and if they can be made to believe what God th says, my word for it they will not be persuaded to run away from th masters. See also. I Peter ii. 18. 20; Titus ii. 9, 10. See a reproof of a litionists. I Timothy vi. 1, 6. See proof that God intends slavery, and gro slavery especially, to exist from Noah to the Day of Judgment—G ix. 24. 28; Rev. vi. 15, 17. Now, if inculcations of Bible truth, prope placed before the people would render the slave conscientiously faith and obedient, would it not put to silence abolitionism even in Ohio; a at once remove all Mr. Clay's melancholy forbodings of the breach of t Union, and the sad ravages of civil war, waged on account of slavery, portrayed so frightfully in his 21st verse? These bugbears would vanish before the standard of G. d's truth, unfurled to the comp ehensi of the people of all classes. Would it not be more in accordance with t principle of true philanthropy for Mr. Clay to wield i is influence on t side of the Bible, and thus to stay the march of fanatacism, and preve the doleful results which he anticipates, rather than attempt thus to trigh en the slaveholders of Kentucky into his measure, and drive them to thro away their rights, and then join with the North in the common persecu tion again-t the South? Besides in the event of the supposed civil wa what would Kentucky be benefitted by an abandonment of the South, an forming a union with the North? Would she not still be "the border State upon which the whole of the Yankee troops would be quartered? How then, would she avoid 'bearing the brunt of war" still? Why not, then let Kentucky remain with her Southern sisters havi g certainly an ad vantage from the great natural barier of the Ohio river between them an the enemy? Ah! if the slaveholders of Kentucky should not perceive th force of this sophism of Mr. Clay, the free-soil voters for President in 1852 will develope to them the secret of it. Viewing the whole aspect of thi sophism, intended to scare the people of Kentucky to set their negroes free and join the North, without bettering their condition in case of civil war reminds us of an anecdote, heard while traveling near the State line o North and South Carolina, shortly after the Commissioners of the two States ran the line. It was said that an old woman, who had raised he family, as she supposed, in South Carolina, on the line passi g a fe paces to the south of her residence, was greatly rejoiced on being "taken," as she said, "out of the sickly state of South Carolina."

Mr. Clay's sophism in the next verse, intended as a salvo to retain ou friendship while it fishes for Northern popularity, is not much less deserving of ridicule. He says in verse 22d: "If she (Kentucky) should abolish slavery, it would be her duty, and I trust that she will be ready as she now is, to defend the slave States in the enjoyment of all their lawful and constitutional rights; and her power would politically and physically be greatly increased; for the one hundred and ninety odd thousand slaves and descendants would be gradually superceded by an equal number of white inhabitants who would be estimated per capita, and not by the federal rule o three-fifths prescribed for the colored race in the Constitution of th

nited States." Now upon Mr. Clay's showing, would he feel the inter-
ts of Kentucky to be safer in the hands of the citizens of Ohio than in
ose of any neighboring slave State? Ah! but the Kentuckians after
ining the North, are still to cleave like sticking plasters to the South.—
ut upon what other assurance besides Mr. Clay's *ipse sperabit*, can
e expect the friendship of Kentucky in any degree, much less in the
rength of its present personal interest, should it be her policy to secure the
endship of Ohio by forsaking us? We have read a fable of an unlucky
x which had lost his tail in a steel trap, and at once could not rest con-
nted without seeking to induce among others the loss of tails as the
mmon fashion. We know too, that it is a principle, peculiar to fallen hu-
an nature, for those who get into an error, to feel the rising of prejudice
ainst those who are in the right. And the array of the whole abolition
ction of Ohio against Kentucky, and Mr. Clay's apprehension that the
crease of the spirit, will soon set the yet honest people of Indiana and Il-
ois in the same attitude, tells an ugly story upon abolitionism as tending
corrupt the honesty and good morals of all who yield to its influence.
en does not Mr. Clay's own showing upon the subject warn us to
pect that if Kentucky suffer herself to become fanaticised with the foul
rit of abolitionism, we may write Ichabod upon her friendship for the
uth?

But why does Mr. Clay thus expect such a speedy increase of the oppo-
on to slavery, as to render the abduction of slaves into Indiana and
nois, as easy as that under which the people of Ohio now practice that
t of plundering? Does he suppose that his avowed sentiments of
olitionism, and the sophistical reasons assigned, connected with his
ight of character, must necessarily convince the honest people of Indiana
d Illinois, that they will be doing God service in stealing slaves; because
e great Mr. Clay thinks African slavery a violation of human rights,
d an enormous sin against God, as taught in Mr. Wayland's book of
rals? If Mr. Clay's influence, thus thrown into the scale of abolitionism,
ould add so much to the erroneous teaching of the books of Drs. Way-
nd and Channing, which hitherto have failed to do away the Bible in-
uctions on the subject in Indiana and Illinois, we again submit to Mr.
lay, to consider what might have been the amount of good he could have
fected by the employment of his eloquence and authoritative opinion in ad-
cacy of the Bible, and the cause of truth, in connexion with the institution
slavery. Had Mr. Clay expounded the principle under which God in-
rporated slavery into the decalogue, as constituting a leading ingredient,
the divine law, and that even to covet the slave, or feel a strong desire to
vest the master of his right of property, in his man servant or maid serv-
nt, would be recognized by the God of Heaven as a felonious crime, for
hich, such offender would have to render a fearful reckoning, under the
emendous awards of retributive justice in the great day of divine ven-
eance; the people of Indiana and Illinois would have been confirmed in their
onesty; and the people of Ohio, it may be, would have been convinced of
eir error, and would tremble at the idea of rushing upon Jehovah's buckler
any attempt at intermeddling with the duties of slaves or the rights of
aveholders.

We wish it to be distinctly understood that it is not the object of these
rictures, to set forth the sentiment that Kentucky or any of the slave
tates, have not the right, under any circumstances, to emancipate her
aves, when feeling it to be the personal interest of the citizens to do so,
om the fact of slaves and slave labor, having become valueless. But we
ay that upon Mr. Clay's showing, such is very far from being the fact

in the present case; when the slaves are valued at from $70
For Mr. Clay estimates the average hire of both sexes, at
num, an interest upon a capital of more than $700, and if the
board and clothing be added to the cost of hire, it would show
of much larger capital. And it is presumable, that the hir
able bodied fellows, at this time, would exhibit the interest o
$1000 capital! Slavery then, cannot be burdensome, as yet, i
of Kentucky; and the amount of perhaps more than one hand
of dollars, would be no inconsiderable sum to be filched by the
hand of fanaticism, from the slaveholders of Kentucky! It is th
dispute, that the personal interest of the slaveholder does not in
call for any arrangement to rid the State of the institution of s

But then, the land is to be so enhanced in value, as to more
amends for any trifling loss sustained in emancipating slaves.
Clay: "The slaveholder is generally a landholder, and I am
that he would find in he augmented productiveness of his lan
not full indemnity for the losses arising to him from emanc
colonization." Now, lands in South Carolina and Georgia, an
most of the Atlantic States, when turned out, soon prove very
in the young growth of pine, persimmon, or sassafras; and
Kentucky farms would produce, better, without cultivation, I

That sort of "augmented productiveness" could not greatly e
value of the capital invested in the slaveholders' land. The land
cultivated by one hundred thousand slaves, must be brought i
or lie as dead capital in the possession of those deprived of th
through the act of manumission. The over-supply of land n
nature of the case, cause great depreciation in the price, and
slaveholder, whose slaves had been taken from him for nought
a further loss of from a third to a half of the present worth of h
farm and residence in Jamaica formerly worth $50,000, sold latel
But then, the slave population is to be superceded by white la
capitalists are to be attracted. No doubt the very low prices
Kentucky land, would attract speculators, and in process of tim
ted lands would be re-occupied. But what of all this, to the pres
or their children, who are scathed and fleeced by the ravag
abolitionism, and turned over to the mercy of poverty, to b
afresh by her iron fist. There is something too extremely spe
whole attempt to blind the slave and land holders of the South
of their property—which they must inevitably see, to some e
deluded by a strange hallucination in regard to the result
emancipation. The mystification thrown over the subject w
likely to blind any incautious man, especially the political fr
Clay, to the perception of his real interest, and to beget in
utter distrust for the safety and sacredness of Southern instit
Clay admits that some little sacrifices must be regretted in t
ment. "But" says he, "these sacrifices are distant, contingent
siderable. Assuming the year 1860 for the commencement of
all slaves born prior to that time would remain such during the
the personal loss of the slaveholder would be the difference i
female slave whose offspring, if he had any born after the
January, 1860, should be free at the age of twenty-five, or sla
Again, he says' 'The slaveholder, after the commencement of
would lose the difference between the value of slaves for life
till the age of twenty-five." As to expense of raising the chil
birth, he thinks they would most likely be apprenticed to the fo

ie mothers, and their labor, till their majority, would pretty much com-
ate for trouble in their case. I once heard the most successful planter
er knew, say he considered it more expensive to raise negroes than to
them. He alluded to the loss of time and expense with troublesome
ers more than feeding children. On Mr. Clay's hypothesis, that was
mendous mistake, if his given data for the average value of slaves
be relied upon, showing them worth from $700 to $1,000.—So plau-
is Mr. Clay's abolition scheme, that if it may not close the eyes of
y a Southern slaveholder to his personal interests, and to the right-
ess of Southern institutions it will surely open the eyes of Northern
tionists wider than ever with inexpressible astonishment that Ken-
y, and all the Southern States, *en masse*, do not seize, with avidity,
this glorious plan devised in almost infinite wisdom to get their hands
ed from iniquity, without loss in the emancipation of slaves! But,
Southern man, whose only inheritance for my children is in the in-
ent of slaves and the land they cultivate, and whose sympathies by
and education are with the South, I must be excused for marring
oy of abolitionists, which Mr. Clay's benevolent scheme has so ex-
ally excited. I must be allowed to blow out of the eyes of my neigh-
at least, a little of his fog and sand, in which Mr. Clay has so blan-
ngly enveloped them. My Yankee friends must pardon me, too, for
their own method of operation, when attending to their own inter-
viz: just to cipher a little in the child's arithmetic. We will, then,
ed to use the figures which Mr. Clay has specified in his plan of
ing the "inconsiderable" "sacrifices" of the slaveholder in "emanci-
n and colonization." He estimates the number of slaves at over one
red and ninety thousand, and their annual increase at five thousand.
aing 1860 for the commencement of manumission, and 28 years for
rst shipment, gives 39 years—the increase being in that proportion,
he thinks it might, to the first shipment, be more.) the whole number
ro's in Kentucky up to that time will be had by 39 multiplied by
, equal to 195,000, added 195,000, the present number, gives 390,000,
h, without the emancipation act, would, would be slaves in Kentucky
38. If twice the term of 39 years be supposed sufficient to effect the
r riddance of slavery, and we suppose, as before, that slavery were to
un uninterrupted and only increase at the former rate, the number
d then be, in 1927, 780,000, which multiplied by $300, the price of each,
ls $234,000,000, (the round sum of two hundred and thirty-four mill-
of dollars!) to which add Mr. Clay's annual average hire for half the
er, which may be considered capable of service, and you would have
e neighborhood of what the heirs of the present slaveholders of Ken-
y would have been swindled out of by the felonious clutches of aboli-
ism. An accurate financial estimate would not be necessary to my
ent purpose, as I proposed only to remove a little of the dust which
t behind the eyes of those who may have read Mr. Clay's system of
ncipation. If we count the hire of half the negroes, and for half the
, with interest, it would mount up to about seven hundred millions, and
d to the value of negroes, as above stated, it would swell the sum of
in the emancipated negroes to ten hundred and thirty-four millions!
d perhaps loss through depreciation in value of land, and interest
that up to 1927, would raise the loss sustained by the heirs of slave-
ers to $1100,000,000 to $1200,000,000 (eleven hundred to twelve hun-
millions) at least!!!—bestowed on "freedom flung away," as said a
o concerning a vagabond white man who passed him while at work.
t says the abolitionist what insinuation is this?? Is it intended to in-

timate that the condition of emancipated and colonized slaves would n be bettered? It is true, Mr. Clay represents such colonization as cons tuting a Negro paradise in Africa and a Caucasian elysium in Kentuck Says he, "We shall enjoy the proud and conscious satisfaction of placi that race where they can enjoy the great blessing of liberty, and civil, p litical and social equality." We are instructed by the African Cru as before quoted that the most of those already colonized make t idea of freedom synonymous with exemption from labor; that large proportion were preying upon the few who were disposed exert becoming industry and economy, while, it was affirmed, that ma had united with the savage and idolatrous natives. Can Mr. Cl flatter himself that the Kentucky negroes would act a better part, sent, they would be, in indiscriminate annual cargoes of five thousand at a tim From the testimony before us, we would not be surprised that, when t shipment of the last remnant from Kentucky might be landed on the bo ders of the painted negro paradise, they would find it a dreary was plundered and robbed by the majority, who would have become amalg mated with the heathenish natives, and would be worshipping snakes a alligators! That would be liberty with a vengeance. But, supposi this to be a mistake, however good the authority for the calculation, a that they should prove to be industrous and moral, to whom would they equal, civilly, politically and socially?—Why, if they should not descend equality with the savage natives, they could but be equal to one another these respects—and what would they be bettered from their present con tion? For, they are now equal to one another, politically, civilly and soci ly," and have the examples and influences of the whites, under whose pr tection and guidance their standing and moral character would contin ie improve, as it ever has done; and, certainly they could not possibly enj a higher degree of safety and religious privilege on the exposed an inhi pitable shores of Africa, where a large proportion would fall victims to t climate, than they are destined to enjoy under the guardianship of kind ow ers in the State of Kentucky, where God, in his merciful providence, h cast their lot beneath the banner of Gospel grace, and in the lap of heal and plenty. Moreover, the indications of the Divine Providence, seen i the unexampled prosperity of the negro race among us—in their increas and mental and moral elevation—bespeak their condition of slavery fulfilling his purposes concerning them, in more direct accordance to th prophetic decree of God, than they could possibly exhibit in a self-governe colony. We have elsewhere expressed the hope, which we still entertai that a colony of a careful selection of the more industrious, moral and in telligent free negroes of this country, upon any healthy location in Africa watched over by the friends of colonization, and instructed by missionaries sent from this country, faithful and true; may hold on to their civilizatio and religion, and may become instrumental in extending civilization an Christianity among the idolatrous natives. But, my word for it, crowdin upon such colonies indiscriminate shipments of the subjects of State ma umission would upset the colonization enterprise.

Now, we will look at Mr. Clay's Kentucky elysium, to be produced b "the extinction of slavery" in that State. On describing the benefits whic he says will accrue to the whites from the abrogation of slavery and remov of the negroes to Africa, he affirms:—"We shall remove from among u the contaminating influences of a servile and degraded race, of a differen color." Here you perceive that Mr. Clay's attack upon slavery in Ke tucky drives a dagger "under the fifth rib" of God's institution every where, and can but be viewed by every Southern man, whose eyes ar

lf open, as a fatal thrust at the dearest intere
inly striking at the vitality and very foundation
per se, and in its organic nature, a source of corrupt
exists: For, if such were the fact, every friend to pure
sire freedom from such influences. But, that slavery, as
gro slavery, is not in itself susceptible of such influences, must
d from God's appointment of the same kind of slavery among his
ople. Mr. Clay's charge upon the institution of slavery is, in tru
preachment of the wisdom of the Diety in the appointment of the ins
tion! And, what is the testimony of history as to the effects of slavery
on those nations with whose social compacts it has been incorpated.
cred history presents no nation since the creation, among the ancients,
exhibiting a standard of purer morals than the Jewish nation, and, in
amals of profane history, no ancient communities of the heathen
rld have surpased the Greeks and Romans in their civil polity and na-
al greatness. I suppose no abolitionist would risk incurring the odium
pen infidelity by denying that the New Testament presents the code
rest morals known to the world, and records the history of the purest
mples of human greatness, in the character of Jesus Christ and his in-
d Apostles and the early converts to Christianty among God's chosen
ple, the Jews, and among the Greeks and Romans. Yet these divine
es of the Gospel era recognized the righteousness of the institution of
ry, as handed down through the divine appointments of the Jewish
y and through the civil codes of Greese and Rome. They make pro-
n for its continuance to the end of time, and in the persons and char-
s of the sacred writers and their pious comrades, as reared in the bo-
of slavery, testify to the falsity of the charge that slavery, *per se*, is
rce of corruption to society. If then, the moral condition of Kentucky
ore corrupt than that of the neighboring so colled. free States, it can-
be attributable to the institution of slavery; and we suppose that nei-
r Mr. Clay nor his friends will seek to put the Bible in the wrong and
mselves in the right by contending for the truth of the proposition that
very is corrupting in its tendencies, as exemplified in the immorality of
people of Kentucky. But, is it not a libelous charge upon the Ken-
kians to allege their state of morals to be worse than that of their West-
and Northern hireling neighbors? They are well able to defend their
n cause, doubtless; but they must excuse my seeming officiousness in
erfering in their behalf, when they will perceive that I am fending off
insidious lance hurled at us in common. We ask, then, where is the
dence that the highminded, generous hearted, courageous, honest and
ustrious citizens of Kentucky have become contaminated by the exis-
ce of God's institution of slavery among them? Compare them, for
tance, with the people of Ohio, where slavery has never existed. Upon
Clays's shewing, the intervention of the Ohio river is insufficient to
ure the property of Kentucky against the dishonest depredations of the
zens of Ohio. In direct infraction of the United States' Constitution,
d in the face of the wrathful forbiding of the 8th and 10th of God's
mmandments—the code of morals forming the criteria of character upon
ich the decissions of the soul's destiny in eternity is to be awarded—
people of Ohio give encouragement to the escape of slaves from their
ners, by secreting them from the master's search and possession. Says
. Clay, "Vast numbers of slaves have fled from the most of the coun-
s in Kentucky, from the mouth of the Big Sandy to the mouth of Mia-
, and the evil has increased and is increasing. Attempts to recover the
ritives lead to most painfully irritating collisions. Hitherto, countenance

and assista[illegible] of [illegible]ves have been chiefly afforded by persons in[illegible] State of O[illegible] It is true, the Lord have mercy upon such a state of m[illegible] as Mr. [illegible] exist in Ohio. The people of Kentucky would [illegible] well to [illegible]missionaries to expound to the people of Ohio the [illegible] Comm[illegible] the general inculcations and sanctions of the Bible [illegible] the inev[illegible]tainty that all thieves and robbers must appear be[illegible] the judgment-seat of Christ. It is for want of Bible instruction that [illegible] public opinion in Ohio gives countenance to the dishonest conduct [illegible] with Mr. Clay so mournfully complains. But just contrast with [illegible] state of things in Ohio the honesty of Kentuckians. If twice the num[illegible] of mules had crossed the Ohio river into Kentucky I think I can vouch [illegible] it that the owners would have found but little difficulty in getting ev[illegible] mule. For the honest and generous sons of Kentucky would have [illegible] only felt impelled under Bible sanctions, but upon principles of courtesy [illegible] to advertise the runaway mules and give the owners as little trouble [illegible] possible in recovering the fugitives; and yet the Bible makes the covet[illegible] of slaves a higher crime than that of an ass or ox—because the man serv[illegible] and maid servant is mentioned first, and because containing a much hig[illegible] investment of money. The laws of God and man (as shown in the B[illegible] and in the provisions of the Constitution) make concealment or stealing [illegible] slaves more felonious than that of any species of property of less valu[illegible] because the felony is proportioned to the amount stolen and injury done [illegible] society. Look at the State of Kentucky compared with Ohio or any [illegible] the hireling States, as to the general spirit of obedience to law [illegible] good order. How many cases of striking for wages and various [illegible] breaks of a riotous character have led from states where, according [illegible] Mr. Clay's notions, a paradise should be expected. Such were the fear[illegible] threatenings of the spirit of mobocracy in Philadelphia a few years sin[illegible] that the military power could with difficulty restore order, and I suppo[illegible] it is the same kind of spirit which in Ohio has produced "the most painf[illegible] and irritating collisions" to which Mr. Clay refers on the subject of kee[illegible]ing slave property from the right owners. Who has ever heard of su[illegible] a state of things in slaveholding communities—with now and then a me[illegible] little exception, as, for instance, I did hear that Cassius M. Clay's abo[illegible]tion press was set afloat in the Ohio river; and, if the Kentuckians ne[illegible] do any thing worse, I, for one will excuse them: for if any work of t[illegible] devil would justify the infliction of summary punishment by the protecto[illegible] of female virtue and sacred homes, it is the establishment of an abolitio[illegible] press in the midst of the firesides of any slaveholding community. So f[illegible] then, from Kentucky's presenting a condition of morals inferior to that [illegible] her non-slaveholding neighbors, it would, no doubt, be ascertained, [illegible] strict investigation, that her superior standing in morals, in common wi[illegible] the South over the North, coincides with the Bible history of slavery [illegible] testifying to the righteousness of the institution and the wisdom of God [illegible] in its appointment, as tending to promote good morals rather than produ[illegible] corruption in society. And, aside from the scripture argument and fa[illegible] proving its truth, the very nature of the connection by which slavery hol[illegible] the whites and blacks together in the social state, will afford opportuni[illegible] of constant improvement to the slaves, while the whites, so far from nece[illegible]sary contamination, are freed from liabilities to corruption which are sad[illegible] felt by most of the hireling States.

Let us dispassionately glance at this position of Mr. Clay that "t[illegible] slavery of a degraded and colored race" should be attended with "contam[illegible]nating influences." Why should it produce such effect? The very fa[illegible] of the negro race being degraded, constitutes a line of distinct separatio[illegible] in point of caste; and the color was, perhaps, intentionally stamped up[illegible]

race by the curse of God, which consigned the descendants of Canaan slavery under the whites for the specific purpose of marking that distinction in the most unmistakable manner. Now, we find, on Mr. Clay's showing that this kind of distinct separation between the two races does not exist. Says he, "The color, passions and prejudices will forever prevent the two races from living together in a state of cordial union." Again he says "As no where in the United States are amalgamation and fusion between the two races possible, it is better that there should be a separation, and that the African descendants should be returned to the native lands of their fathers." Mr. Clay's testimony, then shows the distinction of caste to be so marked that there never could be a commingling of the two races, either by intermarriage or equalization of social interests. Is it not evident, then that there exists no natural necessity for separation from the juxtaposition of the negro race to the whites in connexion of master and servant?—and, is it not true that the public opinion, both among whites and blacks, condemns to absolute disgrace white person who places himself upon a level with a negro. But God, providentially fixing between the two races this line of marked distinction of caste, and yet requiring them to remain under the same vinculum society, differs as wide as the poles, from Mr. Clay, who assigns the fact such distinction as the reason for tearing the negro race from the protection of slavery and sending them to the wilds of Africa. When God, through Noah, said, Cursed be Canaan," he also said: "a servant of servants shall he be to his brethren." And we think the 27th verse of the 9th chapter of Genesis is now receiving its literal fulfilment, through the institution of slavery in the Southern States in the enjoyment of God's blessings, which Shem rejected, by the descendants of Japheth, with the descendants of Canaan serving them. We are pretty much of the persuasion, too, that were the poor slaves now under the tyrant heathen masters in Africa placed under the protection of the descendants of Japheth throughout these United States it would insure a better state of society in the North than they now have: for it would give them security against the influx of European immigrants with their corruptions, and would exempt them from the prevailing fanaticism, which is fast bringing upon them the blighting curse of Almighty God.

Although I have been endeavoring to curb the waywardness of my pen in its desultory movements this article has reached an undue length. We think, however, after touching one or two other points in the long list of Mr. Clay's sophisms it will come to order. Speaking further of the benefits to accrue to the whites in Kentucky from the emancipation and colonization of the blacks, he says, "We shall acquire the advantage of the intelligence, the fidelity and the consistency of free labor, instead of the carelessness, the infidelity and the unsteadiness of slave labor." Mr. Clay's representation of slave labor is rather discouraging, indeed!—and perhaps had as well, at this point, make an admission, which by him and his friends will be taken as confirmatory of such representation, and may, for the present at least, give the abolitionists the feelings of triumphant piracy. The admision is this—That it is my full persuation that the most prosperous and efficient set of negroes upon any plantation or farm in the whole South, would if such plantation were left to their own management and uninterrupted guidance, suffer it to fall to wreck and themselves to come to want. Now, I suppose Mr. Clay's Northern friends, the free-soilers especially, will think me a strange human being not, under such conviction of negro incapacity, to be a strong advocate for droping slavery and adopting the efficiency of hireling white labor-

But I recollect that the omnicient Son of God said, "The hireli because he is a hireling, and careth not for the sheep." John suppose, under so high authority as the Savor's knowledge of t heart, we may take the above to represent the general principle hirelings, whether employed as shepherds or to attend to other We must, therefore, infer that hirelings, not having any persona in the matters of their employer, will operate but unprofitably wi constant direction and supervision. What mor does the maste do in the case of slaves? But moreover, I have heard of large pensive manufacturing establishments in New and Old Engla brought to a dead halt, by the operatives striking for high wa Southern establishments of this kind, the employer is frequently for the first, by seeing wagons or carts loading with the plunder o ratives, that they have taken offence at some trifling cause, perhap word from him or his agent and are about to leave—which circu utterly unexpected, throws some part, and perhaps a most complic important part of the machinery into a dead stand still, till so persons can be employed and taug t to manage it. And, wha be my predicament, as a farmer or planter depend ng upon hirelin the juncture which always occurs in agriculture, that a few da must either save or lose my crop, my hirelings, either from oppr the sun or for the advantage of extortion, throw down the impler husbandry and quit my fields. Such a state of things would sh consistency in the character of free labor, even when white; and tations of the West India Islands are doomed to go to waste, bec free negro is too lazy to work for any wages*. I am thus made that free and white labor, too as it is boastingly called, is the abolition cant, rather than what is represented. But let us retu consideration of slave labor, and inquire into the cause of its ine I think the cause is to be found in the fact that God's direction observed. The curse disqualified the descendants of Canaan to under their own management, which their history everywhere be true†. But God's remedy for such incapacity of the Canaan is seen in the decree annexed to the curse, appointing them to b to the other races. Now, what is the import of the term to serv it not evidently mean that the servant is to be entirely subject direction and guidance of the master. Let the sons of Japh plan the work and in a kind spirit, show the sons of Canaan how to do. Let them read to the poor negroes the instructio Scriptures, showing that God requires them to act in submissive to their own masters—to please them in all things—and to do fai vice, as unto God, and not merely to man With these instruction sed upon the minds of slaves, together with kind treatment, in good supply of substantial food and raiment, houses for themse children, and assured protection and friendship from the master, word for it, the slaves will love their master and serve him cheer igently and faithfully. I am constantly impressed with the co which increases with my investigation of the subject, that negro s this country presents the best condition of the descendants of C the world; and is a strict carrying out of the purpose of God to two races—and that all intermeddling of abolitionists is a dite ing of God, and must be followed by the chastisement of heaven f tering with the rights of property vested in slaves, and for inj condition of the descendants of Ham.

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*See Note A †See Note B

Before leaving this point, may we not be permitted to remark on the reat misfortune of Mr. Clay, in not having examined his arguments and etected the inconsistency of their bearing—their contradictory sentiments, hich are jumbled together in heterodox mixture—before committing them the voracious appetites of abolitionists. As for example, he gives as a eason to induce the people to emancipate their slaves, that they will be eered with the consciousness of having done unbounded good to the ne-o race, in placing them in a condition to act for themselves in the enjoy-ent of liberty and equality. In the next sentence, he consoles the Ken-ckians upon the ground that in the emancipation and colonization of the lored race, they will have gotton rid of an inefficient species of almost e less labor, and I would suppose, chuckle to the joy of the Northern abo-onist in allowing the truth of my admission that the negroes in Ken-cky, left to their own management, would ruin their owners, and bring mselves to starvation. Where then, the infinitude of good done them setting them up to self-management in a distant and untried region? r how could the transportation of negroes across the Atlantic ocean, o under the example of the whites in Kentucky, would come to starva-n if left to themselves, possibly better their condition upon the pestife-us coasts of Africa? What then, upon his own showing, goes, with . Clay's African el Dorado? What with the extatic joy of his aboli-n friends, excited by my frank admission of negro incapacity for self-vernment and self support?

But a word further upon the alleged benefits to the whites in the sepa-ion from them of the "degraded colored race." He says:—"We shall vate the character of the white labor, and elevate the social condition of white laborer." Here, as everywhere else, Mr. Clay strikes his in-criminate blows at the vitals of our peculiar institution, and plays into the nds of free-soilers by using the slang adapted to their special fancy. I pose they will not be so ungrateful as to omit to reward him in due e and not subject him to the moral of a certain fable which exemplifies e folly of catching at the shadow and losing the substance. Does Mr. ay mean in the true sense of abolitionism, that labor in itself considered, ust be disgraced because subjected to the contaminating touch of slaves a "degraded colored race," and that the white man in putting his hand such defiled labor, must in the nature of the case, be dishonored—be sgraced? And that Southern slavery has really produced an abhorrence labor on the part of the whites among us? I cannot believe that labor thus debased in character at the South nor must negro slavery, *per se*, the cause of deterring industrous whites from the performance of per-nal labor.

Now in all this matter of the alleged evils of slavery, we can but think at most of them exist only in the fanaticised brains of abolitionists. For od must have known fully as well as Mr. Clay and the whole posse of matical free soilers and anti-slavery enthusiasts put together, what is e character of slavery; and if he had seen it thus fraught with deadly vils he would never have appointed the institution, much less have en-rafted it upon the Jewish polity, and incorporated it into the Christain conomy as an institution of leading constituency of every well regulated ommunity Labor, as the appointment of God, must not only be honora-le in its character, but must be essential to the health and well being of an; for God appointed all men to it, and made it necessary to all, rough their whole career of life.—The decree to Adam and to his pos-erity was: "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread till thou return nto the ground." But the curse upon Canaan, unfitting him through nferiority, to manage for himself, and the annexed decree appointing him

to servitude under the other races, designed him doubtless to cont
work with his owner as well as for him. God then did not think th
sons of Canaan would bring disgrace upon the character of labor, o
the sons of Shem and Japheth would be dishonored by having the
tance of the Canaanite—and I believe that notwithstanding the mis
sentations of abolishtionists, God's appointment and opinions on thi
ject prevail at the South.

No farmers or planters with a moderate number of slaves, deem
selves or children exempt from work; and they feel that it is no disgr
have slaves to help them. Hence most Southerners, (and Northerner
who become resident at the South) procure slaves by purchase, or
able. And if any of the rich feel themselves or their children release
labor they are under the sad mistake which perverts God's appoint
and which must sooner or later bring upon them his chastiseme
those afflictions which never fail to befall the idle; and if they are e
bl. from laboring with their servants, it must be on the ground of
engaged in the pursuits of education or the duties of some profess
of being elsewhere more usefully or profitably employed in some l
vocation, aside from the common avenues of business needing the
tance of servants. And how is the condi ion of the white laborer eh
by the absence of slavery? Is not the reverse the fact? If we are no
taken at the North, and in all non-slaveholding communities, the
classes form a sort of distinct caste, who are not allowed to eat with
employers nor associate on terms of familiarity; whereas, at the
the whites are invited to the table and to the exchange of reciprocal
ties and are, in short, upon a footing of greater equality than in any
of the known world.

While, in matters of civil privilege and social courtesy, all whit
the South are considered upon an equal footing they, for the most
are by duty or necessity, impelled to follow some honest employ
Those having a few servants direct them and labor with them while
who have none labor by themselves; and there is generally felt the
tence of mutual dependence between the poor and rich, which is no
more strikingly exhibited than between the wealthy slaveholder an
more industrous and skillful of the poorer classes, qualified for the
vision of the slaves, and whose services are employed to the mutu
vantage of the respective parties. The office of overseer has
source of wealth to many a man who has thus risen from the abo
poverty. The slaves too being protected in life, limb and health, th
the interest and friendship of the owner—having all their necessary
supplied, and none or few of the responsibilities of life or cares of the
devolving upon them—are the most contented and happy class of
on earth. Does not the condition of society at the South, then, w
institution of slavery interwoven with the social state, evidently con
the very connexion which God intended to exist between the two ra
Japheth and Canaan? Is not such evidence seen in the fact that
vine blessings abundently rest upon us, in the high degree of pro
attendant upon both races, and in the further fact that no part of the
world presents a better condition of morals than the society in the
exhibits? Why, therefore, will fanatics, either of the South or No
termeddle with us or presumptuosly attempt to frustrate God's o
things, as established among us?

We must be excused for a passing allusion to Mr. Clay's glorifi
verse. Having justly complimented the State of Kentucky upon he
orable standing, in connection with her sisters of the Union, and
eyes of the world, he says, "But, in my opinion, no title which she h

esteem and admiration of mankind, and, I may say, no deeds of her mer glory would equal in greatness and grandeur that of being the neer in removing from her soil every trace of human slavery." &c. &c. es Mr. Clay use the term pioneer in its common acceptation, as one ding the way and removing difficulties, or others to follow? Then, the n, applied exclusively to his own State, would torture its meaning, could not fall harmoniously upon the itching ears of the whole posse ree-soilers and anti slavery enthusiasts who are to bear a conspicuous t in directing the occupancy of the White House in 1853. No sir: Clay's meaning will be readily comprehended by those chiefly ad-ssed; and the South cannot but see that here, as throughout the whole ter, the poisoned shafts of abolition are hurled at the institution of very as an object of unmitigated and universal scorn, and its last ves-doomed to extinction as the electioneering bait thrown to the vora-s appetites of free-soil abolition and anti slavery voters.

r. Clay's earnest and labored efforts to blind the people of the South their best interests and induce them to nullify God's institution of slave-reminds us of the powerful temptations so perseveringly thrown before Savior of the world to frustrate God's purpose of human redemption. last and, I suppose, Satan thought, the most irresistible temptation nded to ensnare the Son of God, was the presentation to his acceptance of the whole glory of the united kingdoms of the world. Mr. Clay as to have left no point of temptation untouched which he supposed ht induce the Kentuckians and the Southern people to throw away r property and join the abolitionists in opposing God's appointments. has so manœuvred his cunningly-devised sophisms as to appeal to ndary interests, to conscientious scruples, to philanthropic sentimen-sm to mental fear, and lastly adopts Satan's grand weapon used against invincible Savior and touches the chord of human glory, which gen-ly vibrates stronger than all others in the hearts of the worldly minded. d will the sequel prove to Mr Clay that all this mental effort has been rted to worse than no purpose? We should so judge in regard to the s in Kentucky, from the spirited resolutions unanimously passed by Legislature of that patriotic State, showing that her people are yet in r right mind and incapable of being gulled by Mr. Clay's sophistry. d, if we may judge the signs of the times in the South by the high-toned patriotic resolutions emanating from the people of the States through r Legislatures and primary assemblies in every quarter, we must con-de that the labor of abolitionists will prove abortive in their attempts to ce the people to throw away their property and join the fanatics in r wanton onslaught against God's institution, and in the infliction of l injury upon the sons of Canaan committed, in the Divine Providence, ir protection.

Judging from the same signs, we think the time is near by when all the ers to the South, who love government office and national popularity e than their country, must expect their political glory to have departed ished upon it like, like characters at the South; and, from some sneers ready passed at the North, we presume they will be doomed to participate he sad but common experience of traitors, viz: to be contemned at e and despised abroad. Would it not have been well for Mr. Clay to e shown his hand, in the unblushing avowal of his opposition to Abo tion of the South, before his election by the Legislature of his State United States Senate? Will not his remaining sense of honor com to resign, and not to mortify, for the next six years, his own ne r Southern State with the annoying reflection that one of ators is an avowed abolitionist?

STRICTURES UPON THE TRACT

FOR THE

PEOPLE OF KENTUCKY,

Mr. Editor:—Since the famous discovery of Mr. Clay, that "a majority of the people of the United States" hate slavery; Southern with Northern principles begin boldly to show their colours in quarters. Mr. Clay upon making the important discovery, although persevering and long baffled hopes for the Presidency had quailed pair, at once took fresh courage and seizing time by the fore lock, his last bid, coming out even before the inauguration of Gen. Taylor, his scheme of Kentucky emancipation: and was especially careful, let it be known that he had been on the side of abolition for at least years.

The next aspirant to that high office is betrayed in the movement Mr. Benton. Like Mr. C. he seems to have caught the impression no Southern man can ever be President of the United States, with strong lift from the North; and that as the abolitionists are about inevitable certainty to usurp the control of the Union, having obtained elective franchise of the country, he that will hereafter be President by some means, fair or foul, work himself into their favor. Hence we the celebrated graduate of Chapel Hill mounted on his free-soil waving his flag to the breeze of abolitionism. It is not, however purpose to dwell upon either Mr. Clay's or Mr. Benton's revolt against their native South, as we have met the case of the former in the review his letter on emancipation and the case of the latter we will leave to disposal of the chivalrous and patriotic citizens of Missouri, with whose Legislature he has already brought himself in direct conflict, and to the influence of whose members his cloven foot must become so uncovered before the people of his adopted state, as to sink forever his popularity home as well as in every section of the South. Whether the abolitionists and free-soilers will be so disgusted at his suicidal treason against his home as to suffer it to happen to him, as to the dog in the fable, that caught at the shadow and lost his haunch of meat, is yet to be tested. Our object in this communication is to notice the case of Mr. Campbell, a religious reformer in the West of Virginia, who has in a late number of the Millennial Harbenger (May 1849) openly declared himself on the side of abolitionists, We must be allowed a few prelimary remarks before we proceede to refute his positions. His case has taken us with the greater surprise from the general impression produced at the South by Mr. Campbell's report of his persecutions in his native country for advocating there the institution of slavery, during his visit several years since to Scotland.* We with others at the South taken it for granted that Mr. C. was the fast friend of the South and her Institutions, in as much as his advocacy of slavery while in Scotland had subjected him, to imprisoment by the opponents of the institution in that country. Had not Mr. Campbell designedly or others made the general impression as above alluded to, we would not have any surprise at finding him a thorough abolitionist as his countrymen are fanatical on that subject; and as he adopted for his place of domicile the narrow strip of Virginia Territory extending far up between Pennsylvania and Ohio, where no friend of slavery could expect to dwell in peace or hold his property secure from the depredations of thieves and robbers on each side of him, it is no wonder Mr. Campbell found it to his interest to free his slaves about which we will in due time speak. In lo-

* Since these strictures were written, we have been informed that Mr. C. is a native of the North of Ireland, [illegible]

into Mr. Campbell's Tract for the people of Kentucky, however, and finding Mr. C. mounted upon Mr. Clay's abolition steed we were not so much reminded of the Conqueror Alexander seated upon his war-horse as we were of the officious young Priest, Ahimaaz, the self appointed foot messenger, who ran to King David as bearer of tidings, when lo and behold! he had no tidings to communicate. See II Sam. xviii. 26—31. For if Mr. C's friends can explain to us any difinite object in publishing his tract for the people of Kentucky, we will acknowledge an accession of information which for the life of us we have not been able to gather from the perusal of his piece in the Harbenger for May. We do certainly ascertain from it that he wishes it to be thought that he now is and ever has been, an enemy to slavery, notwithstanding the impressions to the contrary, which his heralding of his persecutions in Scotland had produced throughout the South. It is true we do learn from his abolitition Tract that he now seems overjoyed, that the letter of Mr. Clay and the discussion of the subject by Southern prints, (such as take the abolition side, we suppose he means) have removed his delicacy which had inhibited his expression of abolition sentiments; that the spirit of abolitionism so long pent up in a state of ebullition in his bosom, gave him a deal of inward trouble; and that in relief experienced by giving vent to his feeling, he is like a bird loosed from imprisonment and scarcely knows how to carry himself. But the question recurs, what does he intend to accomplish by this relief of his feelings, in turning loose his long suppressed sentiments? He does not pretend to join in the hue and cry of yankee abolitionists, that slavery is in itself an insufferable sin! He does not attempt to combat the scriptural argument which sustains Southerners in the practice of slaveholding—which argument his reputation for adherency to the Bible in the strict and literal construction would not allow him to interpret away as do some of the learned Doctors at the North. He does not want the votes of the North to put him in the White house at Washington, whither certain political aspirants struggle to reach, even, at the forfeiture of all political honesty and honorable patriotism; and if fishing for Northern students to be brought into the literary institution of which he is the President, we think his course will be likely to lose more from the South, that great source of his patronage, than he can expect to gain from the North.

What then, we repeat, can be the object of Mr. Campbell in his publication of the Tract for the people of Kentucky, not merely in that State, but throughout the country? It would be with forboding reluctance that we could be brought to entertain the suspicion that it is Mr. Campbell's aim by his present movement to raise an abolition party at the South composed of his numerous religious adherents and their friends, who by dividing the Southern ranks will successfully give aid and comfort to Northern and English fanatics in their modern crusade against us! Can it be, that Mr. Compbell having seen the unexampled success of the abolition party at the North which constitutes the balance of power between the political parties and which throwing their weight into the scale for candidates favoring their principles have tempted selfish Demagogues to such candidacy, who in having their election ensured, have already usurped the reins of the government; and that a similar move at the South must speedly effect the extinction of slavery! If this be Mr. C's object he has doubtless counted without his host in mistaking the character of his Southern disciples. For it would be impossible for him, Mr. Clay, and all the English, Scottish, and Yankee abolitionists combined, to persuade one in a hundred of rational Southerners, that there is a material difference in throwing slave property away to enhance the value of land and throwing their worth in money away to increase wealth. But, however, we

may be uncertain as to any suspicion of Mr. Campbell's aim to form a general abolition party at the South we think none can be deceived as to his aim in Kentucky. He, encouraged by his faith in Mr. Clay's great discovery, doubtless thought it a favorable juncture to rally "the tens of thousands of his disciples in Kentucky" on the side of the abolition fanatics, who under the auspices of Mr. Clay's popularity are now (1849) concentrating their energies against the property holders of that "Great and prosperous and happy community," and it is self-evidently Mr. Campbell's cherished purpose to give aid and comfort to that fanatical band to destroy under semblance of public authority, the vested rights of slave holders and prostrate them and their descendants forever in that State!!

Should not the honest yeomany of Kentucky, therefore, begin to open their eyes on this point? and from the fact that the abolitionists of England and the North have their spies and agents engaged in personal presence and in secret action in our midst is it not time for the South, every where to have her faithful sentinels on post, and to watch with jealous suspicion the movements of Northerners and foreigners amongst us, whose feelings interests and prejudices being dissimilar to ours unfit them to approve the genius of our Institutions. There are both foreigners and Northerners who are Southern in sentiment and practice let such be received and encouraged amongst us, but let us discriminate between the true and the false and guard against affording patronage to the latter class which are far too numerous. Yes, besides secret emissaries sent amongst us for the corruption of our slaves and for the incendiation, amongst Southerners, of sentiments prejudicial to the institution of slavery, what is the number of Yankee and foreign preachers and teachers, editors and office seekers, merchants and mechanics, who have ensconced themselves amongst us behind the pretence of friendship, and are growing rich upon the patronage of slaveholders while they are anti-slavery at heart and are lending the abolitionists their influence in effecting divisions amongst us for the destruction of our social state, and the ultimate ruin of the Southern people? Does it not behove the planters and farmers of the South to withhold their patronage from all such characters? Let us therefore, not be squeamish in ascertaining the sentiments and practice of those whom we encourage and support. But without further surmising as to the specific object of Mr. Campbell's move, if indeed he has any, we proceed to notice the absurdity of some of his positions. In his introductory remarks, he professes to feel an interest for 'the great and noble State' of Kentucky, not merely because it is 'the daughter of the great Mother of men," meaning Virginia, but because his 'evangelical reformation' has prospered more there than in any State of the Union' and that his 'devoted disciples number in that state at least several ten thousand." Now what point is there in this argument for the removal of slavery from Kentucky? Does not Mr. C. perceive upon his own showing that his sect flourishes most luxuriantly in slaveholding communities? and should he not apprehend that if Kentucky become fanaticised with abolition principles that his reformation, which has not found room among the isms of the North, will be rooted out of Kentucky, as its nature is incongenial with a fanaticism which perverts the literal inculcations of the Bible on the subject slavery?

Again in his attempt to prove that he has always been an open abolitionist, he gives as a quotation, his conversation with a Deputation of Quakers from a New England abolition society. Does Mr. Campbell intend for us to believe that the quoted words were his published language at the time referred to, and that he now appeals to the identical words then published as proof positive, that he was then as now with the abolitionists?

If these were his published words, they were doubtless intended to be a doubtful oracle, which, under his interpretation, induced the South to believe him on our side, while his explanation now given, showing abolitionists that he was then with them, only places Mr. C. in the awkward predicament of having been almost half as long as Mr. Clay "running with the hounds and holding with the hare."

As to the "Gentlemen of Eastern Virginia, men owning hundreds of slaves" of whom he spoke to the Quaker Deputation as being anxious to have the Constitution of Virginia altered so as to admit the emancipation of slaves that they might be at liberty to set free their hundreds it is not shown that they were neither fools nor knaves. There are some few political aspirants who would not only sacrifice their property, but would sell their country to the abolitionists, when such bargain and sale would become the stepping stone to high office; and if any of the noble families or children who on they wished to throw destitute upon the cold charity of the world by such disposition of their natural inheritance, it does not require a Solomon to see into the cause of their fanatical injustice. I heard of a wealthy man in Eastern North Carolina, who under a morbid sensibility refused to wear shoes and with broom in hand had to sweep carefully each spot in his pathway, where his foot prints were to be made, in order to avoid the unpardonable sin of oppressing some of God's innocent creatures of the insect tribes. I suppose had he been acquainted with some of the developments of the compound microscope he would have perished with thirst rather than at each draft of cool fresh water have swallowed a myriad of living creatures which his morbid judgment would perhaps have decided to be equally entitled with himself to "the enjoyment of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." But should it be alleged that such morbid sensibility furnished proof positive of absolute derangement, in as much as God gave us feet to walk the earth and water one of the supporters of human life. Yet it may be answered that we have no higher grant from the Creator to use with active deligence our feet and to drink of the rolling brook for slaking of our thirst, than we have for subduing the beasts and using them either for service or food, and may we not come to the point by asserting that we have no higher grant in either of these cases mentioned, than we have to hold in bondage a fellow man and appropriate to our use his services under certain circumstances. For we think Mr. Campbell's admissions will bear us out in the declaration that the grant in either case is equally authorized from the word of God. The Mr. C. case then explains the true nature of abolitionism and places all conscientious abolitionists under incipient or advanced derangement. While the balance, perhaps the larger portion will come under the head of political knaves designated by Mr. John Randolph as "men of seven principles, five loaves and two fishes."

But as Mr. Campbell waives the discussion upon the scriptural principles, having merely alluded to the different opinions on the subject of slavery in Mr. Clay's twattling with the exception of his ridicule and jeers to the argumentation of political economists, so we will follow him. Mr. Campbell seems to bolt Mr Clay's charging steed into this field of discussion, with the attitude of strutting triumph. He commences by giving the information that political economists are a class of self appointed judges, who upon their own authority pass judgement upon the means and instrumentality which promote national wealth and respectability, and decide what communities may have attained to the true standard of human greatness. He is careful to designate this class of wiseacres to be "without an honorable exception" opposed to slavery in all its forms, but most especially to negro slavery as practiced in the Southern States.

He next triumphantly assures us that his personal observation based upon the documentary statements of this abolition junto, with the comparison of the products of free and slave labor for the last thirty or forty years, leaves not the shadow of doubt as to the tendency of the Institution of slavery to diminish the wealth, and consequently the political power of any state that admits it. Now as Mr. Champbell's advisors are acknowledged abolitionists of ultra stamp, how does he know but that they may be mistaken in their calculations, being liable to derangement through their mad fanaticism or subject to blindness to the truth through the bias of selfish prejudices. And since he has drunk so deep into the intoxicating spirit of abolitionism, how does he determine the soundness of his own judgment in these matters, and assure himself that his premises are not erroneous, and that his conclusions based on false premises, do not constitute him emphatically a blind leader of the blind?

We suppose that Mr. Campbell will not be offended with us, if in the spirit of kindness, we show to himself and friends, that such is really his sad predicament. Let us then take his triumphant exhibition of the annual products of the states of Kentucky and Ohio, his comparison of which shows the product of Ohio to surpass that of Kentucky for the same year in value by about twenty six millions of dollars; and that in a run of about forty-six years, Kentucky having the advantage in all respects (except carrying the Millstone of slavery) Ohio surpasses in wealth by near one hundred and fifty millions of dollars. Mr. Campbell pronounces these to be "golden arguments," and to be understood at a glance by every one. But is all this truth? Is there no misrepresentation about this whole matter whether intentional or otherwise? Before proceeding with the refutation of "these golden arguments" let it be remarked that they are intended by Mr. C. to prove the Institution of slavery to be a ruinous incubus upon Kentucky, as being a source of impoverishment to her people, and should at once be removed by freeing their negroes. The wise man says, "He that is first in his own cause seemeth just, but his neighbor cometh and searcheth him." Now for the work of searching Mr. Campbell. In his comparison of the two States, he speaks in the positive that Kentucky has the advantage of Ohio, both in extent of Territory and fertility of soil. On referring to Mitchell's Atlas (of 1846) his statistical table shows Ohio to have four thousand square miles of Territory more than Kentucky, and his map shows in the South eastern corner of the latter state considerable mountainous region, denoting much sterile soil which does not obtain in Ohio. This approved georapher, then in direct contradiction to Mr. Campbell, represents Kentucky to have less territory and more poor land than Ohio. Whose testimony is best? But beside the testimony of Mitchell in favor of Ohio in quantity and quality of territory, he represents another item, still more important as to the relative products of the two states and which it looks, too, as if Mr. C. designedly overlooked in his estimate. It is that the inhabitants of Ohio were in 1840, nearly double those of Kentucky and we presume from their past increase, they now more than double them. Where then is Mr. C s ground of boast, that Ohio's yearly products surpass those of Kentucky: The former having four thousand squ re miles more territory with less poor lands to work and with more than twice the number of operatives? This searching begins to approximate truth, and shows that Kentucky laborers in proportion to unmber are, perhaps, fully equal to those of Ohio, making due allowance for quality and quantity of soil cultivated, which is certainly the proper basis of calculation. Now let us go into the estimate of the draw backs, which Mr. Campbell entirely forgot and, perhaps, to a reflecting mind the amount of net proceeds will appear in favor of the Kentucky farmer. Mr.

C. at one point of his braggart vanity tells us that "the only wages of the slave is his food, raiment and medicine"—What then will the slaves' three pounds of bacon and peck of bread stuffs per week cost?—which quantity of provision is more on the average than negroes can eat: altho' I suppose that in that plentiful country they are not allowanced except to prevent wastefulness.

Their clothing is prepared by old and clumsy women or by the laborers in wet days and leisure seasons of the year so that the cost is not felt, and in that land, proverbial for health, I should not be surprised if the cost of medical attention amounts to one-fourth of dollar a head, per annum! When this bill is footed up, it makes the cost of slave laborers vastly less than that of whites. For whenever I have employed a white laborer, he demands his tea and coffee and such other delicacies as would make his board cost at least ten dollars per month, while his wages reach from ten to fifteen, as the case may be—While the slaves "board" amounts to, perhaps, less than a dollar per month in Kentucky, where the price of corn often is as low as twenty-five cents per bushell and bacon from 3 to 4 cents per pound, the wages of the laborer in Ohio, with his board may be counted at, perhaps, not less than from $15 to $25 per month. Now when a quantity of the Ohio products is sold sufficient to settle off with the laborers how much does the farmer retain? Nothing like what the Kentucky slave holder realizes from the same number of operatives. And hence the truthfulness of Mr. Fisher's estimates showing the free citizens of Kentucky to be about twice as wealthy as those of Ohio, and the average wealth of the citizens of the whole South to be far geater than that of the hireling states of the North and West. I would recommend to Mr. Campbell the perusal of his neighbor's Lecture comparing the North and South. We think he will take the more interest in the piece, because nothing from the pen of a native Virginian, a son of that "Great mother of men" would fail to be reverenced by Mr. Campbell.

Mr. Fisher was in early life strongly opposed to slavery as most young men and especially those under the influence of Mr. Jeffersons erroneous dogma are, before investigating the subject for themselves; and which is an example of proof that the subject needs only to be approached in the spirit of disinterested candor to convince any rational mind that slavery is an institution of Gods appointing from the facts connected with African slavery at the South. No section of the world shows the negro race more elevated and improved civilly or religiously than they are under this Institution in the Southern States! No country on the globe presents three millions of laboring peasantry better fed, clothed and protected, and enjoying higher religious privileges!! and no section of the earth exhibits the same number of laborers, so little overworked and whose industrial products figure so largely in the commerce of the world and are more beneficial to mankind!!! We ask then why will deranged fanatics and selfish demagouges intermeddle with this divine Institution and resort to every subterfuge of lies and the use of basest misrepresentations to subvert slavery and ruin the master and the slave!

But does Mr. Campbell still contend that I have not demolished his position, from the fact that the aggregate wealth af Ohio is greater by about one hundred and fifty millions of dollars more than that of Kentucky, and that her political power is greater and with it her respectability? Let us then search into these points. I suppose Mr. Campbell's plea for the superiority of Ohio, based on the greater amount of aggregate wealth must be resolved into the simple fact of her having become more speedily and densly populated, and that slavery in this comparision is judged to

be the exclusive cause of Kentucky's more tardy progress, both in population and national wealth and should therefore meet a critical condemnation and be at once extirpated for the public welfare of that community, and so of every state and country where it exists. But suppose we were to ask Mr. Campbell if Massachusetts or even Pennsylvania did not exhibit a slower progress both in population and wealth than even Kentucky, during the very period when Ohio was surpassing Kentucky? If he answer affirmatively, he will admit that Ohio out ran those old States far more than she did the slave state. To what cause will he attribute the tardy progress of those famous states, which had no Millstone of slavery about their necks? We simply make these suggestions to show that Mr. Campbell's arguments are as false and as frivolous as his dotrine and false principles of abolitionism. As to the fact of speedy growth in all new states both West and South, a common school boy would discern the true cause to be the disposition of the many restless and unfortunate adventurers in old settled states to remove to fresh countries, and especially, does the influx of foreign immigrants tend to frontier regions. That is one reason why Ohio increased in a given time faster than the old states or Kentucky. But perhaps the main reason of her surpassing the latter so far, is seen in the great secret that white hireling laborers cannot compete with slaves because of the cheapness of slave labor and therefore the tide of immigration tends to free States: Now will any reasonable man see in these causes any just ground for the abrogation of slavery. Perhaps we may, here also admit that slave holders in order to rotation crops, retain more land than needed, provided they would adopt the plan of tending less soil, and having devoted a portion of labor to its higher improvement, would thus qualify for greater productiveness as also density of population. But the discussion of this point is not here called for.

As to Ohio possessing greater political power than Kentucky; that too must consist only in share numbers, for we presume all must admit that the latter far surpasses the former in talents, and it is some what unfortunate that Ohio's political strength, consisting alone in counting noses at the polls and in legislative votes were not less characterized by the corruptions of wild fanaticism.

Nor can Mr. C. allledge that the people of Ohio are distinguished for displaying a purer standard of morality or for exhibiting a higher educational polish than the Kentuckians. If then he claims for Ohio a higher degree of respectability, that, too, must be based upon density of population; and by the same argument Africa could perhaps challenge Ohio herself; for some portions of that sombre region are more crowded, it may be than the latter; and China would compete triumphantly with the whole world in claims to respectability. But when Mr. C. will have read Mr. Fisher's Lecture, he will find that density of population and especially the crowding together of the inhabitiants of any country into large cities and numerous villages is far more unfavorable to correct morals, good society and true respectability, than residing in rural retirement in sparsely populated communities. And he may, perhaps, in such causes discern the reason that the slave holding sections of our country, especially the old settled States, where there are but few newly imported foreigners are seldom or never molested with riots or other lawless movements of mobs. What then goes with Mr. Campbell's bravado parade of Kentucky's wealth and other advantages of start in the race with Ohio? and what becomes of his insinuating innuendoes, intended to be more effective than arguments, suggesting the superior number of densely populated cities in the North surpassing, beyond comparison those of the south, in size a

sperity. According to Mr. Fisher Mr. Campbell only proves that sinks n and corruption are more numerous in non-slaveholding countries; and : scenes of dissipation and discord and wretchedness of evey kind a- nd more at the North than at the South, in our country: which is no tt th fact. We ask then: if a sane man would be likelely to descry in Mr. C's proud vaunting of Northern excellence any just cause why his iples in Kentucky should be urged to throw their political influence the scale with modern abolitionists, for the destruction of the property lers of that hitherto noble and prosperous State?

But Mr C. assumes not a few fanatical positions which need refutation— s he, "it is most satisfactorily decided to my mind that slave labor is dearest and most painful labor that a state can employ." If he means rest in a pecuniary point of view, we think that position refuted in our vious estimate of the drawbacks on the products of the two classes of orers. As to painfulness of slav labor, it, perhaps, would require more metaphysician than myself to apprehend Mr C s precise meaning in use of this phrazeology. Does he intend to convey the the idea that the ves of the negro have a more accute sensibility than those of white sons? The general impression is I believe the reverse of that notion. does he aim at the old abolition cant, that the slave being under the trol of a master, is worked to excess and receives no reward? If that Mr. C's meaning, he knows the sentiment has been refuted a thousand one times; and can again be shown to be both untrue and slanderous. few slaves are made to labor as hard or as long in the day as most whites are compelled to exert themselves for the support of of their lies; and the negroes in food, raiment, housing, medicine and protection, ive the reward of their labor with greater certainty, and to the insur- upon the average of a higher degree of comfort than is experienced ny other class of poor equally numerous—As to Mr. Campbell's as- on, that freeing the negroes and hiring white foreigners in their place, ld in a year raise the price of Kentucky land to an amount equivalent e value of the slaves—we suppose Mr. C. uses the sentiment because rted by Mr. Clay, whom he supposes incapable of error, and merely sserts without personal examination. We repeat the substance of answer in the review of Mr. Clay's letter by asking Mr. Campbell if not a fact that the best quality of Kentucky lands, affording from their lity equal facilities of market, with similar land in Ohio, do not com- d an equal price? How then could the exchange of slaves for dutch lings make any increase in the value of lands? It is moreover density opulation, which might be expected to enhance the value of land, the proposition contemplates no increase of inhabitants. There can but little doubt entertained by any reasonable person, that the eman- tion of all the slaves in Kentucky (or any other slave State) under conditions, would for a time diminish the price of land and impose a vy loss on the slaveholders in addition to the eighty millions of dollars rificed upon the freedom of the slaves, greatly to their injury in every se.* It is characteristic of blind fanatics to evade squeamishness in ven- ng assertions which neither they nor their wiser friends called to their could prove true. Well might Mr. Campbell decline his arithmetical ibit here or geometrical demonstration at the close of his Economical ument, where he says, in turning the negroes free, the owners will suf- no loss but realize a profit, "is a proposition as demonstrable as that a ut line is the shortest possible distance between two points." If Mr. *had not made the experiment and been speaking from personal know-*

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ee note B in appendix on subject of negro freedom.

ledge, we perhaps might have rashly concluded his a North Carolina case. But let us for a moment advert to Mr. C's profitable speculation in freeing his slaves. He does not inform us as to their age, sex or condition. He may in the true sense of the terms have realized a small saving by ridding himself of the expense and responsibility of supporting a few stumps of old negroes, who, at best, would in a short time be incapable of self support, yet Mr. C should remember that such a case would be far different from the loss of the invested value of future generations, arising from two hundred thousand slaves, whose past unexampled increase shown them to be more prosperous than any class of people on earth, except their fellow slaves in other Southern States. Mr. C. must excuse us for repeating the remark made in our hearing, by a gentleman in speaking concerning Mr. C's desciples—that some of them were more Campbellitish than Campbell himself: and so we think that Mr. C. in adopting Mr. Clay's system has become more Clayish than Clay himself. For Mr. Clay admitted that slave holders in adopting his plan of emancipation must be subjected to "an inconsiderable loss," whereas, Mr. Campbell makes them "realize a profit." Whether Mr. C. in thus differing from his admired leader, unintentionally over looked his way marks or whether he did it from desire, of not being thought too sycophantic, we think unimportant to ascertain.

But again Mr. Campbell says without much qualification, that upon the plan of Mr. Clay, "Kentucky, in twenty-five years would be rid of slavery and be as free as Ohio or Pennsylvania." This too is more Clayish than Clay himself. For according to Mr. Clay's colonization item, which he pretended to present as the leading feature of his scheme, it would be some thirty nine years before the removal of the first negro from the State. Must we take our modern Ahimaaz as here attempting to rehearse a lesson, which he had not fixed upon his memory? or does he expect to escape from this dilemma, by hanging his assertion upon Mr Clay's "proviso" allowing owners of slaves up to 1860 "to devise, sell, &c." and by that means get rid of all from whom after 1860, those destined to be free would be born. Why then does not Mr. Campbell say at once in the spirit of candor and truth (which both he and Mr. Clay have evaded) that the only way in which the pseudo emancipation scheme of Mr. Clay could be carried out, without indefinite injury to the slaves and total loss of their value to the owners and their children, is for the slave holder to run his negroes without delay into the adjacent Southern States, and pocket their value in money?

But Frederick Douglass sees into that point and thinks it would not be freeing the slaves. And I suppose Mr. Campbell will fare but little better than his patron adviser has, under the execrations of that mulatto renegade, whom Northern abolitionists have made a mouth piece in their dispensation of scandal and abuse against the people and Institutions of the South. But if the slaves upon Clay and Campbell's shewing constitute such a political evil and intolerable incubus upon the people of Kentucky, would it be in accordance to the required spirit of neighborly love thus to smuggle them off upon us? But Kentucky must be aware that such an attempt in order to prepare herself to withdraw her fellowship from the South and fling her influence into the abolition crusade of the North against us, would require the Southern States to forbid the immigration of Kentucky slaves amongst us. Under such prohibition, the slaveholders of Kentucky, mauger the assertions of their prophet and Priest to the contrary, would then discern, that the total loss of the value of slaves must be realized by them in addition to having to submit to a large reduction in the price of their lands forced upon a glutted market, should they be so deluded by blind or

selfish advisers, as to adopt the proposed system of emancipation. Besi'e they would be left to their election of evils in the disposition of the ruined negroes, choosing one of the only two modes, which the circumstances could permit: They must turn them loose to pine in idleness, dissipation and starvation among the whites, as exemplified in the Northern States and British Provinces*; or they must carry out the colonization item, which would be but little more humane than cutting their throats. For if no white man of Kentucky could expect to servive the first season on the coasts of Africa, the country from which few travellers have returned alive; and if the great proportion of negroes from the Atlantic states transferred to Libera have died like rotton sheep; what would become of the hitherto robust and healthy negroes of Kentucky, shortly after landing among the lethiferous bogs of Africa? But let us turn from this sickening scene and seek relief by contemplating some less preposterous proposition of Mr. Campbell. Take his grass proverb if you please, viz: "that in grain growing and grass growing states, slave labor is the dearest labor in the world." This we presume is one of the sophisms of abolition political Economists.

Does Mr. C. mean by it that the same number of slaves, who would labor profitably in tending a given amount of land in cotton, sugar or rice, would not support themselves if set to tilling the same ground in grass? If so, we think with him. But if he intends to impart the idea that were an equal number of white operatives put to the cultivation of the same land in grass, they would produce a profitable yield, he must excuse my dulness of comprehension on the point. For I suppose the negroes could live as cheap and a little cheaper than the whites; and I can not conceive that any talismanic effect of the treading or the digging of the white man unaccompanying that of the negro, could impart additional fertility to the soil, causing it to give forth its increased quantum of hay, so as to pay the board and wages of the white laborer and yield a profit to the land Lord, whose negroes (slaves) of equal number were bringing him in debt by not producing an equivalent to their support. This proverb of abolition cant, then can be rationally solved only by reducing the meaning, if it means anything, to designate the general principle, that it requires a less amount of labor to the same quantity of land in farming countries than in planting region. And now if it be said, because it requires double the number of slaves to cultivate a field of a hundred acres in cotton, sugar or rice in the Atlantic States, as it does to cultivate a field of like extent in grain in Kentucky; and that if the Kentucky farmer had in the same field, the number of the planter's hands confined to its cultivation, the double of his former number, they would render the whole unprofitable, must the whole therefore be set free as the remedy? If the former number labored to advantage, who does not see that when the operatives are twice as numerous as they should be for profitable labor, that by removing half the number from the farm into a factory, that both departments wou'd go on prosperously? and if the slaves products, whether in grain or other staples, over supply the consumption and thus reduce the price to a point below the scale of gain, or even support, who does not descry the remedy in putting the surplus producers to manufacturing? Why then are the Southern people complaining that their slaves are over producing the great staples of the South with which the markets of the world are glutted; and consequently prices are at the option of consumers and the labor of slaves doing but little more than clearing their teeth? While conceited abolitionists far and near though growing rich upon the manufacture of our slave products at our ex-

*See notes in appendix.

our decreasing wealth to the evil of slavery. Who does
r all this in diverting a portion of labor from the plan-
... into the Factory? Why then, we repeat, does the
is complain, while she hires Northern Ships to transport her raw
...o New and Old England, to be manufactured to the enrichment
ngers and returned for our use at the cost of our empoverishment!
t the absurdity of our sending to the mountains of sweeden for the
d steel of which our utensils of husbandry are made; and to Old
nd do we send for the salt to our bread! while the materials of
which these articles are produced, abound in our own country, yes, in our
sunny South. And our laborers are unprofitably engaged to the neglect of
fabricating at home all these articles for domestic supply, and a quantity
for the supply of half the world beside.

There is something yet more absurd in our course and inconsistent with the principle of independence and self preservation, for which the God of heaven has indued us with ample means and capacity. We are employing the abolitionists (who are ungratefully abusing instead of sustaining us and our Institution of slavery) to make our negro hats, shoes, blankets and clothes, ah! the brooms with which our servants sweep our houses and brushes with which they clean our shoes, dust our clothes and furniture, remove the crumbs from our tables, as well as keep the flies from our meat while we eat—all of which we should teach our children and negroes to make; together with our carriages and furniture; and the other thousands of articles for which we almost give away our cotton to yankees to pay themselves: While our negroes should do all these things instead of over producing the great staples of the South. Kentucky ought to be rearing up factories as work shops for her negroes, and rail roads to lead to and from them, over every part of the State; instead of listening to the slang of abolitionists, who at this juncture (in 1849) are waging a bloody onslaught upon the advocates of truth, that dare to interpose their influence for the protection of the sacred rights of property in that State. The states of Missouri, Tennessee, North Carolina, Virginia, Maryland and every farming community at the South should go into the manufacturing of cotton fabrics on a large scale, so as to give employment to the poor classes of whites, who prefer that kind of labor to toiling in the field, and so as to leave enough of the more drudgery labor to absorb the service of their slaves; while the immediate cotton growing sections, should do the same to an extent which would divert their surplus producers from making the over supply of this great staple. It is high time we had left Mr. Campbell's political field: before doing so we must just quote his crowning argument in the following words, viz: "I have read with much pleasure, a recent letter of her (Kentucky's) most distinguishdd citizen, one of the most enlightened and eloquent statesmen of the country and age in which we live, setting forth his reasons and his project for ultimately ridding the common wealth of this great draw back upon her prosperity and happiness. Mr. Clay treats this question with the hand of a master, as a sage politician, and in all the points to which he has called the attention of his fellow citizens, they nead not other or more competent advisers."

We will ask why then did our high Priest think it necessary to intermeddle without knowing what to say, unless, to show the sycophantic adulation which he willingly renders to a vain old man? As to Mr C... letter we think any school boy of moderate capacity could dem... fallacious positions and expose the selfishness of its author. Wond... office Mr. Campbell expects under Mr. Clay's anticipated Presiden... he is to receive no reward for services officiously rendered, why

and in doing so he freed himself from an intolerable bondage, deliverance from which gave him rapturous joy? But we would enquire for a moment, if such were really his christian obligation toward his slaves, would he be released by the act of manumitting them, without providing a them the means of effecting their own education? Why not be at equal liberty to send off his children, too, upon the cold charity of the public, and thus rid himself of the parental obligations to educate and fit out his children for life? But we are here reminded that we might have been mistaken in supposing that the negroes set free by Mr. Campbell were old worn out stumps of servants. Perhaps, there may have been among them a young woman with a rising family and likely to have a numerous offspring; which would have taken the whole income of the bachelor, or his college estate into the bargain, to educate them according to Mr. Campbell's sense of Christian obligation; and that by persuading the woman to accept a ticket of freedom for herself and children, he freed himself most joyfully from his frightful servitude to them. But we would ask Mr. C. informed the mother that he was thus bound for the education of her children, and that she still preferred the boon of freedom? If so we need not wonder that he should judge so unfavorably of the "inferiority and comparative dullness" of the race from such an example of stupidity of intellect.

But let us again ask Mr. C. what progress that poor woman, without education herself and having no other means but the proceeds of her personal labor to support herself and children—what progress has she made in effecting the education of her children? Thousands of such white families in our country have to go uneducated, unless the public have made provisions for them—and even then the helpless mother may too most need her children at home in obtaining food and raiment, to allow them time to go to even the free school. Thousands of such white families in Ireland have for several years past been upon the point of starvation for want of bread! Hundreds of such families of free blacks in the nonslave holding states languish in squalid wretchedness—suffering for fire and clothing in winter—for food of wholesome quality both in winter and summer—and for spiritual instruction all the time!!! Where is the ability for obtaining education among such? Among the poor classes of those countries where slavery is attempted to be excluded, the children seldom get any schooling, while thousands are in the receptacles of charity or in the drudgery service of miners and colliers, where they seldom see the light of day; while thousands are released from their afflictions in their loathsome haunts of wretchedness and starvation by the kind hand of death!!! But permit us to ask if Mr. C. ever saw a slave, who was incarcerated as an inmate of an alms-house or did he ever know of one starving to death or perishing with cold and nakedness in the Southern states? while he has doubtless heard of numerous instances of the sort among the free, and in countries of boasted freedom from the curses of slavery—and does not Mr. C. in such facts recognize proof of the divine appointment of the hated Institution of slavery? But to return to the subject of education, where is seen the obligation upon the Christian masters for the education of their slaves beyond the slaves' ability to educate themselves, if put upon their own resources? And if the poor in most free countries get no education for the want of means, the question recurs, whence the obligation upon the master in those slave states which in self defence against insurrectionary movements of abolitionists are compelled to inhibit the public education of their slaves—whence we say the obligation upon such masters—to establish private schools within the family circle and to confine

their personal attention or the hired service of a priv
slaves? and how do such masters forfeit their alle
by failing to fulfil such obligation?'

For Christ has, we believe, no where required any
struction to be given to the poor of any class. He repre
lency of his school to consist in the great fact, "the poor have the
preached to them." Paul says, "it pleased God by the foolishne
preaching to save them that believe," and the great commission of the
viour to his apostles was "go ye into all the world and *preach* the gos
every creature." Mr. Campbell was then bound as a pater familias t
truct his servants orally or cause them to have sabbath opportunities for
such instruction in the great principles of the gospel salvation. We will ask
if his freed family of negroes enjoy any higher privileges in their freedom
than they did in his family circle? Sabbath privileges most Southern slaves
have, and we venture to assert unhesitatingly, that in the enjoyment of
such opportunities, they have higher advantages of spiritual instruction
and mental culture than eight tenths of the inhabitants of the whole globe;
and, perhaps, we may say, than one half of some the most enlightened
parts of the world.

For illustration, I saw lately on good authority, a statement that more
than half of the people of France cannot read and write: And every
one knows that they are engulfed in the darkness of infidelity and
Catholicism. Ireland worse still—Spain as bad—even in England, 47
in the hundred cannot read and write—and yet no millstone of slave-
ry hugging about their necks. But before leaving the subject of
education, will Mr. Campbell inform us whether good old Abraham
educated his slaves at a college? If he did, and board and tuition in
those days were as high as at New Bethany College, it must have
cost him a round sum, as it is probable he owned several thousands!
Once more before leaving the education department, Mr. Campbell must
excuse me for alluding finally to his method of getting rid of moral obliga-
tion to slaves. I do not myself believe that he was bound on principles of
Bible morals to have carried his slaves through a full course in the Betha-
ny College—not merely because it might have rendered the Institution
unpopular and subjected him to the loss of much of his Southern patron-
age—but because, I see no scriptural requirement for giving slaves of the
African race, so high preference over the whites of the Caucassin race,
who by thousands and millions have no means to get common school,
much less, to obtain college learning. But if Mr. Campbell felt himself so
frightfully bound to educate them to the whole extent of his power and of
course to afford them college instruction, how has he managed to get the
sin of omission washed from his elastic conscience? For the apostle
James iv. 17. says 'to him that knoweth to do good and doeth it not to him
it is sin." Now, if he felt morally bound to educate those slaves, and knew
to moral certainty, if turned upon the cold sympathy of the world penny-
less and defenseless, that they could never become educated—could never
receive the good which he felt conscientiously bound to confer upon them,
we ask how could he feel himself clear of his obligation to them by set-
ting them free and thereby lessening their privileges and making worse
their condition, for the selfish purpose, too, of bettering himself? Mr.
Campbell will doubtless pardon me for these suggestions of my scruples as
to the rectitude of his system of Ethics on the subject of moral obligations
—and will he not allow me to remark once for all on this point, that the
whole case reminds me of the general Ethics of Abolitionism. Frederick
Douglas by the same system justified himself in hog stealing, and I sup-
pose it is by the same system that citizens of the North evade the Consti-

tational and Bible obligation in regard to rights and property in decoying off by thousands our slaves: and by it they perhaps feel self justification in taking from us our share in the whole of the Mexican acquisition of Territory as the means of destroying the value of our slave property.

We proceed to notice Mr. Campbell's positions showing the immoral tendency of slavery. Here, too, is seen no gift but the same confused tumult of ideas, [illegible] a double dose. Poor Ahiman had to stand by as unworthy to deliver a message of truth. Mr. Campbell after [illegible] with much boldness into the full of negro corruption and displaying a deal of eloquence on the subject of children's being ruined in the nursery by being committed to negro hands" seemed suddenly to have [illegible] that everything persons will recognize but one difference as to the advantage in black nurses at the South and white nurses at the North.—It seems that it would probably be best to follow the example of European Lords and Princes who in the education of their Children never allow them to go from under their personal inspection and watch care. I presume that parents in this country, both North and South, unless it be of the wealthy class, cannot spare time to eye their little urchins all the while: inasmuch as most of parents of both sexes must be generally engaged in labouring in some business to support their families: and are thus under some sort of stern necessity to commit their children to the care of nurses. Mr. C. thinks however, that the chances are somewhat better with white nurses and hired too, because they can be selected carefully and dismissed if found unsuitable. But we ask if the same cannot be done in regard to negroes to whom children may be committed beneath the dominion of their mothers?

The truth is, when house servants at the South are found unfaithful or immoral or in any manner unsuitable for the office to which they are appointed they are at once put into the field instead as quickly as Mr. C's white servants who may be [illegible] worthy can be dismissed: and I suppose others can be obtained as easily as the white can be obtained from the intelligent slaves of the North. For [illegible] dismissal of the negro dismissed [illegible] house servants always [illegible] to do—and it is thus, the [illegible] to know that house servants at the South will compare favorably with the white servants the world over. For [illegible] of the white but the lowest class who are [illegible] therefore, incapable of other and more profitable employment [illegible] of several—and our most intelligent [illegible] of their race are appointed to [illegible] house servants. It is then perhaps clear to any thinking mind that negro nurses are likely to be superior to the white who are found in that department. For [illegible] will doubtless admit that the highest of the negro race to be superior to the lowest of the white races.

But, as to the point of the South being corrupted incorrigibly by negroes, what [illegible] testify in this case? where are the people of the Southern States less pious by those of any state or country whatever. Are the Northern or European refinement of manners, soundness of morals, generosity of character or nobleness of mind—or for correctness of diction or accuracy in the pronunciation of their vernacular tongue? The Southern people speak the English language better than the people either of New or even those of England where the language originated. As to Mr. Campbell's reference to Paul's quoting from a heathen poet, "Evil communications good manners corrupt" in proof of the corrupt influence of slaves, wonder if it does not apply equally to the corrupt influence of whites? I, also, will quote direct the sentiment of the same apostle in

proof that there is no escaping the corruption that is in the world everywhere. Paul. I Cor. v. 9. says, "I wrote unto you in an Epistle not to company with fornicators: yet not altogether with the fornicators of this world or with the covetous or extortioners or with idolators; for then must ye need go out of the world." We think it very likely that Mr. Campbell to get clear of such corrupters in the present day, would have to leave the world. For we presume he would meet such characters as the apostle describes, and see evidences of their corrupting influences in every quarter of the globe, wherever, he might find men in the social state, civilized or savage. We urge the question, where would he go to find incorrupt society? Not certainly to Scotland, his father land where they incarcerated him for defending the Bible, and where he might find in their haunts of inequity multitudes, literally rotting with loathsome disease resulting from secret or public immoralities? Were he to go to England he would find no better state of things. In France, if we mistake not something more than half a century ago, they elevated upon a platform, a harlot and proclaimed her the supreme object of national worship!!! These are countries which profess to hate slavery and yet no part of our slaveholding country more corrupt. Nor would Mr. C. meet with much better success in his search for purity in human society, were he to roam "the universal yankee nation." For according to the developments of their News-papers, cases of intrigue with servant girls are of no rare occurrence: And, we saw stated by a Philadelphia Editor, several years since, that at least a dozen abolition preachers had been charged with such immoralities in the course of a single year*—wonder if Mr. C. has ever found the equal of that even among the negroes of the South? With these facts staring him in the face, he does well however in hailing from Scotland and domiciled upon the Virginia tongue of abolitionism to set himself up fully authorized to lecture the Southern states on Ethics, or rather reproach us for being signally immoral and incorrigibly corrupt. But Mr. Campbell finds it difficult to satisfy his spleen against the abhorred Institution of slavery. It is not enough to denounce it as a political incubus upon national wealth and private prosperity and as a huge pandora box speading its moral dessolations in society, but he thinks he has discovered in it the quintescence of all that is despicable in despotism. He says 'there is a lawless absolutism on the part of the slave master and unrestricted submission on the part of his slave, that constitute the essential and differential attributes of the relation," again, "Cruel masters are few compared with the humane, yet the tendency of the relation is to degrade rather than to elevate the servant and to render haughty and tyranical the master." Where has Mr. C. found such traits exhibited in the parties concerned in the Institution he is seeking to destroy? Does he gather it from the sacred history? not from the case of Abraham sending Ehezer to seek a wife for his son Isaac—nor Elisha and Gehazi; nor Naaman and the Centurion†; not in the illustrations given by Christ, showing the superiorty and authority of the master over the servant—see Luke, xvii. 7—11. and a variety of similar allusions.

In all the scriptural examples and instructions pertaining to the Institution, superiority is recognized in the master and obedience and respectful submission on the part of the servant, but not a case of tyranny in the master and crushed spirit in the slave, which Mr. C. alledges—nor do I believe the Institution in itself susceptible of such tendency; but that the abolition cant which so charges it, is a direct libel upon God its author. It was certainly not God's intention to degrade the descendants of Canaan by appointing them to servitude under the descendants of Shem and Ja-

*See Mell on Slavery, p. 27. †Gen. xxiv. II Kings iv & v. Mat viii.

pheth as their guides and guardians but to preserve them from a condition of degradation to which their self management under the curse already inflicted upon them, would in the nature of the case, reduce them unassisted by the guardianship of the more intelligent races; and we think the condition of the negro race every where, under the control of the sons of Shem and Japheth is shown to be bettered when compared to the negroes left to manage for themselves; which proves the Institution to have been intended to promote the welfare of negroes, and not as asserted by self-conceited abolitionists to have an evil tendency in their case. God knows better how to arrange for his creatures than they do for themselves; and every man should suspect himself of being in the wrong, when he undertakes to find fault with God's appointments. And why should the Institution tend to render the "slave master tyrannical, haughty and dogmatic." It is remarkable that God pronounces a blessing upon both Shem and Japheth in connection with their being appointed to be slave masters—see Gen. ix. 24—28. Surely the tendency to produce the traits of character alledged would make their connexion with the Institution an evil and not a blessing: And that the mistake was not on the part of God, but of Mr. C. and his comrades, we think, reference to facts in history, sacred and profame, will abundantly prove. To be brief on this point, look at Abraham and his fellow prophets and patriarchs, and find if you can such traits so produced in them; and will not Southern slaveholders compare favorably with those of equal wealth in the North or in any section of the world, who do not hold slaves, for urbanity of manners, benevolence and gentleness of disposition and meekness and humility of spirit. Where then the evidence that the Institution engenders the tendencies ascribed to it by blinded abolitionists?

But let us look at the antithesis of the described evils of slavery to master and slave. Mr. C. says, "While there is but a limitted authority on the part of an ordinary master, and reserved rights on the part of a hired servant, that compared with the former, renders the latter relation safe, virtuous and honorable." When the pauper class or the dependent poor, much abound, which they are apt to do in non-slaveholding countries, how much less limited the authority of the "ordinary master," than that of the "slave master" on the other hand? The hired servant is conscious of dependence upon the employer for continuance in his service, or a favorable certificate of commendation—for dismissed without which it is with delficulty he can get any employment. Is not such poor person then subjected to a more injurious and humiliating authority under the selfish employer, who has no other interest in the hired servant than to get his service at the cheapest rates? In what is the relation, of such a hapless crouching and dependent hireling, more safe than the slave's, to whom the ownership in his master pledges him ample protection? How is the relation either more virtuous or honorable, when it subjects the male and the female to submission to any terms the employer may propose, or to be cast off without any certificate, compelling each to resort to such means of support as their necessitous condition may dictate? It is thus many an unfortunate man has been tempted to join the murderous banditti of robbers, by sea or land; and it is thus many helpless females, originally inclined to the path of virture have been driven into dens of prostitution, as the dernier resort for bread.

But if hirelings be scarce, what feature favorable to safety, virtue and honor is then presented! Is it seen in the strikes for high wages which the employer must grant or have his business, of whatever important kind it be, forsaken—his factories to stand still or the grass to take his fields, or their products to rot unharvested?—or is it seen in the numerous lawless riots, which make reckless destructon of life and property, intan-

s of which Pl i'adelphia, New York, and other portions of the North fre-
ıently present?

But Mr. Campbell unluckily for him, in his present onslaught upon our
stitution has proved it to be sanctioned both "in the law and gospel of
ıd," Does he not see then that he is fighting under a reckless standard
sed against the God of the Bible? and that after his admission, he in
ɔpting well nigh to plagiarism, the language of Mr Clay and other an-
lavery standard bearers, can not have any adequate conception of the
kward predicament in which he has thoughtlessly placed himself before
: world? He says, "True indeed, as we have before abundantly prov-
the relation of master and slave or as many prefer to express it,
ster and servant, is recognized in the law and the gospel of God."
ı is se ems to have reference to some former treatise which we have not
n. I suppose, it was exhibited in the Harbenger some years ago in con-
ɔtion with the report of his Scotland difficulty, and which induced the
ı ole South to think him a great champion for our Institution. But what
ıt he has "abundantly proved." Why, in substance, that God appointed
ɔ Institution of slavery and gave it the highest sanction of his authority
incorporating it into the Abrahamic covenant, as seen in the ordinance
circumcision; and into the dispensation from Sinai as recorded upon the
o tables of the Law; and that Jesus Christ sanctioned the righteousness
the divine Institution of slavery by ingraf'ing it into his gospel regula-
ons to run parall l with his kingdom on earth. Now after such acknow-
ılgement of its divine appointment can Mr. C. think the Institution of
ıavery susceptible of the evil tendency, he charges upon it? and in his
tempts to prove such to be its legitimate tendency, does he not under-
ke to show that God himself was mistaken in his arrangements, and
ıat his design in appointing the Institution of slavery had proved a
ilure in being productive of results, the reverse of those intended? For
must be clear that the God of Heaven never gave his authoritative san-
ɔn so fully to an Institution, which he did not intend to effect the mutual
ɔod of the parties between whom it was to operate: and it is further cer-
in that God could not be deceived as to the tendency and results of this
ıstitution. The mistake is altogether on the part of Mr. Campbell and
e mad clan of his fellow-abolitionists. The ownership of the master in-
ead of begetting the spirit of tyranny, haughtiness and do.ı ination' pro-
ıces a complacent regard for his slave as his property; and a deep sympathy
r him as his dependent; and a warm friendship for h m as his fellow man
a friendship higher than that felt for a hired man in whom his personal
terest is not concerned. Instead of cringing servile and abject fear in the
ave, he feels that his master is deeply concerned in his welfare, both from
ıterest and humanity; and he recognizes in him his divinely appointed
uardian—his adviser—his only protector and best friend: and the slave
nder the working of a grateful heart, forms an attachment which is often
ɔ strong as to risk life in the defence of his master and his family. These
re the legitimate bearings upon the parties of this divinely appointed In-
titution. Dark and fiendish must be the spirit that seeks to pervert this
riginal bearing of the Institution of slavery, by bursting the bonds of
riendship which bind the parties: And for the purpose of arraying them in
ostile attitude. Such is the spirit of abolitionism and such its hellish pur-
ose! And yet, Mr. Campbell knowing slavery to be God's Institution, joins
ıe abolitionists in their infidel crusade against it. What will be his fearful
eckoning at the bar of his final judge?

Be it Mr. Campbell's unenviable predicament to be found denying the
ivinely recognized Institution of heaven for the purpose of trailing at the
ɔet of a veteran demagouge and a traitor to his country. But be it my

humble lot to be found among the friends of my country and defending the Bible and its cherished institutions. Were I about to erect a domicil for my life time abode, and desired for the purpose to choose the section of the world freest from corrupt influences, and whose society is most congenial to good government, mental elasticity, religious influence and human happiness, I would select a residence in the Southern States: In the bosom of negro slavery. In the doing of which, although I might have heaped upon me the sneers of abolition contempt, yet I should feel myself sustained by the sanction of high and sacred authority. For God chose the bosom of slavery upon which to rear all his ancient prophets and wise men, distinguished for holiness of heart and purity of life; for energy of character and efficiency of action. And it was in the bosom of similar society he chose the birth place and nurture of his son, the holy child, Jesus, who approved the Institution of slavery as of God's appointment, and which he, by approval and precept commended to posterity under his divine sanction as constituting the best possible state of human society to exist from his day to the end of time.

But it is time to notice Mr. Campbell's last charge against the Institution of slavery. He says, "the genius of the age is against slavery. A King in Virginia or Kentucky would not be in the eyes of Europe and the civilized world more anomalous and discordant, than slavery with the genius of our political Institutions, and the boasted liberty and progress of our country." Is not this modern Ahimaas, here again deluded by his indistinct vision, which forbids him to deliver a message which at any point can be relied on as true. This last position represents slavery as being incompatible with a republican government. How came Christ then to incorporate it into his Church relations which were based upon republican principles? ah and how came God under the old Testament dispensation to make it a leading feature in the Israelitish government which was among the earliest republics known? How came the distinguished heathen Republics of Greece and Rome to flourish for many centuries, having the Institution of slavery at the foundation as the palladium of their Constitutions? How happens it, too, that the Republics of the Southern portion of the United States have worked so well, some of them for sixty odd years? So far from the Institution of slavery being incompatible with the genius of Republicanism, it is the great conservative feature of any Republic. No Republican government can long exist, without the Institution of slavery incorporated into it. For where the whole of the lower orders of society exercise the elective franchise, the government will be completely in their hands: And knavish demagogues will soon find the means of rearing a despotism upon the ruins of such a democracy. Hence there is no instance in history of the existence for any length of years of a Republic, unless a large proportion of the population have been slaves excluded from the management of government, which has been conducted by the representatives elected by the upper strata of society.

The Institution of slavery, then ever has been and ever will be the only sure foundation of all republican governments. And its conservative influence in favor of republicanism does not consist chiefly in the fact of its curtailment of universal suffrage, but in the almost unobserved fact of its uniting capital and labor. It is this peaceful trait in the Institution of slavery that constitutes it a leading ingredient in the best social state. This conspicuously shows the wisdom of God in its appointment and its establishment among his favorite people; and dignifies Christ's approval and continuance of it in his church as forming the best social condition of the Caucasian and Canaanitish races. For where this sort of slavery exists as the basis of the social state, all clashing between capitalists and laborers is excluded

ıd the wheels of government work smoothly: And contentment and peace ust be most likely to reign in the bosom of such society. On the other ınd, where slavery the provision in the divine arrangement for the races Noah is attempted to be excluded from the social state, even though : lower orders of people be deprived of the elective franchise, still the organizing principle of antagonism between capital and labor ıld subject government to those popular broils and civil commotions, ich no form of social restraint short of a despotism could suffice to vent or control.

For the want of the basis of slavery, the Mexican Republics have ever n oscillating between revolution and anarchy. Because of the ence of slavery in the French Republic, their experiment is destined to vitable failure; and the non-slaveholding states of the American Re- lic having gained the ascendency, the demagouges of this country, will rp the control of the government, and the days of this great Republic l be speedily numbered! and the State Republics in the Southern por- of the confederacy be doomed to desolation and ruin unless they have : courage and the foresight to take care of themselves, while they have : ability for self preservation. But Mr. Campbell has overlooked histo- both sacred and profane, and has based his notions of the incompatibili- of slavery with the principles of republicanism upon the dogmas of Eu- ean monarchists and private interpretation of abolitionism. Thus upon ipsi dexerunt of European despots, Mr. Campbell, himself a foreigner ıst join with the enemies of our country abroad and their dupes at the rth to revolutionize the governments of this land, which our forefathers ablished upon Bible principles of Republican freedom. It must be done at once, although at the risk of drenching the earth with the blood of its abitants. What sort of an evil genius does Mr. C. suppose has gained control of his conscience? and has he looked into the characteristics the genius of the age," which he says is opposed to slavery, and upon ose authority, he feels himself pressed in spirit to intermeddle with oth- mens affairs? From the fact that all the positions of this genius are ıversive of the Bible and its Institutions, does it not occur to Mr. C. t the "genius of the age" must be the Devil, that arch fiend of dark- ıs, the great enemy of God and man? What other genius does Mr. mpbell imagine, would dare stand forth in avowed opposition to a ding Institution of God prominently presented, and fearfully sanctioned every part of the Bible? "The genius of the age" then being against d and the Bible can be no other than the spirit of infidelity upon Mr. C's. timony. This genius of infidelity "the spirit that now worked in children of disobedience," everywhere, has been for sometime devel- ng its. l in this country: Heretofore in the varied forms of fanaticism un- the several divisions of Deism, Mormonism, Millerism, Owenism, aboli- ıism and others, too tedious to mention: But now it has the accession to ranks of Campbellism! Be it so—nevertheless I cannot think that many Mr. Campbell's sect at the South will be so blind to their best interest and ir country's welfare, as to follow so recreant a leader in this fanatical vement: Especially since he has been so rash as thus plainly to exhibit public gaze his cloven foot against the South. We can but think he l be compelled to seek some other region as the theatre of his reforms, ıether religious or political. Has Mr. C. forgotton the description of rginia Character given by himself to the Abolition deputation? that the rginians were an intelligent high minded people, knowing their own siness and Institutions much better than yankee abolitionists; and would at with merited contempt, any attempt of the Northern fanatics to dic- to them on the subject of slavery? and has not Mr. C. become suffi-

ciently acquainted with the people of Kentucky and of the states Sou
West of Virginia, to know that he gave the traits of character for
the South in G neral is distinguished? Does he not perceive tl
presumptuous intermeddling, will meet the same indignant repulse
he suggested to the Quaker Deputation, would be the result of thei
sion to the sensitive Virginians? and what moreover is the general
acter of Mr. Campbell's desciples everywhere in the South and espe
in Kentucky, where he boasts of their numbers? Are they not rem
ble for possessing investigating minds? are they not in commoc
their Southern fellow citizens distinguished for that independen
thought and character, which repudiates the spirit of sycophantic a
ment to any earthly leader? must not their discerning patriotism c
them to reject disdainfully the present attempt of a religious leader t
advantage of their pious sympathies toward him and unawares to
palm upon them a political heresy subversive of their personal righ
of their country's good—while it at the same time, would be ruinous
health and happiness of their contented slaves, now resting in
among them? Will not Mr. Campbell's disciples in Kentucky, ther
in high dudgeon, his high handed attempt to force upon them a syst
political economy, which upon his own testimony is based upon the
platform of infidelity, and comes commended to them chiefly by the
ions of European monarchists? those tyrant rulers of the oppressed,
lands of iron despotism, who have ever shown the most marked hatr
ward the American people with their representative governments a
publican Institutions. They would rejoice in effecti g amongst us div
and strife, and delight in nothing more than the destruction of the A
can Union and total subversion of our national liberty: That great
obtained for us by our forefathers at the sacrifice of their blood and
ure and consecrated to us their posterty, under the safe guards of the
stitution, that great monument of their wisdom and prudence. Alt
the religious followers of Mr. C may not be disposed to relinquish his
gelical tenets, yet, will they not, while holding on to their religious
ments under another name, than that of Campbellism, repudiate
and his political sentiments as worthy to be associated, himself with
slavery fanatics and his abolition doctrines with the isms of the Nor

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work, and applied to the assumed friends of the negroes, who never failed to make the greatest professions of kindness and regard for him, and abused slave holders, but never aided him, though he was a sober honest industrous and good workman. After having expended nearly all his means, he offered to labor at a very low price and did so—and at last obtained funds sufficient and returned again into slavery of which he was fully warned before he left the state and said he infinitely prefered so to live, than to remain at the North in the midst of abolitionists, who made great professions of friendship, but were by no means so much the friends of the negro as were their owners in the slave states—nor did negroes have half the comforts they enjoy at the North as those who are slaves South."

We have possessed several revolting accounts of the condition of negro freedom in the so styled republic of Hayti, (the ancient and once flourishing Island of St. Domingo), and which we intended to give authentic quotations but can not lay hands upon any documents. The representation is, that the country, is already bordering upon a relapse into a state of down right barbarism. The people mostly go naked, have but a pittance for subsistence—are kept in abject vassalage under their so called Emperor and his Dukes, who have imported a distinguished idol god from Africa, indicative of their country's idolatry must soon be their prevailing religion.

NOTE. In addition to the quotation from the Journal of an African Cruiser given on page 40 in reference to Mr. Clays free negro Paradise: I will mention that I have among the other course of this year a letter from an intelligent free black woman to a high dignitary in this vicinity—in which she imploringly begs him to send her cloth political economing, shoes, provisions and money, &c. Indicating that she was platform rather hard times in Liberia. Her husband is a sober pious man and ions of Esmith, who in this neighborhood got as much work as he could do at lands of $1 per day and himself and horse boarded. They went to Liberia in ward the health and prosperity of the colony may be inferred from the fact that publication has, perhaps diminished from the original number of emigrants by and thousand, whereas the transportations for the last 30 years ought to have ased naturally to from a third to one half of the original number of the colonists. cal to negro freedom among the whites in the Southern States, such is the ch ness of most free negroes to idleness and consequent dissipation—both sexes—the ma s to drunkeness and females to prostitution, that comparison to a free negro has bel ne proverbial for being the lowest term of reproach, even among the slaves themselves, and yet the forefathers of these free negroes were emancipated because of their special good traits of Character. How soon degenerated when manants to themselves! For a glance at the original negrodom look at sketches of Aid history: says Frost, author of travels in Africa, after stating that no Afr ver tribes had ever tamed the elephant, says: "It is a still more striking fact that no negro and indeed no African nation, save the Egyptians, Abyssinians and partially the Numidians ever possessed a literature or had ingenuity to invent any alphabet, however rude" p 104. As to honesty in Africa, travellers have scarcely been able to retain a single suit of clothes: says Frost, p, 158, concerning Mungo Park, in one instance of their plundering him. "After this some of them went away with his horse and the remainder stood considering whether they should leave him quite naked or allow him something to shelter him from the sun."

In regard to prevalence of slavery in Africa, says Park: "The slaves in Africa are nearly in proportion of three to one to the freemen." Trav p 133. Again he says, "of 900 prisoners taken upon one occasion only 79 were freemen." "Slavery in Africa. An English gentleman, who has travelled 14 years in western Africa, where he has been Governor of some of the most important English possessions, states that probably, nine-tenths of all the population of Africa are at this moment slaves; that in some places the slaves are to the free as thirty to one; that slavery there is of a less form than that which gives the master the most absolute control to that in which the slave has the common privilege of member of the family and may in some cases inherit his master's property." N. Y. Journal Com. for 1844.

With this review of negro history, who will be so deaf to the voice of reason and blind to the evidence of facts as not to admit that Southern slavery exhibits the best condition of the negro race and that the special blessing of God evidently resting upon both the black and white races in the relation of servant and master in the society of the South shows such social state to be of God's appointment.

August 1851. A SOUTHERN CLERGYMAN.

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